LIBRARY
MICHIGAN STATE NORMAL
COLLEGE

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

IN TWO PARTS—PART ONE

The AAA Decision

An Editorial

Religious Drama in America

By Fred Eastman

Does the Bible Talk Economics?

By Edward Tallmadge Root

Together with a Second Part

Three Cultures

Human Relations Among Protestants, Catholics and Jews

15 Cents a Copy • January 22, 1936 • Four Dollars a Year

In This Issue

EDWARD TALLMADGE ROOT is probably best known to readers of The Christian Century for his staff correspondence from New England, but New Englanders know him well for his long service as secretary of the Massachusetts federation of churches, an office which he relinquished about three years ago. Dr. Root makes his home at present in Somerville, Mass., but continues to play an important part in the religious and civic life of greater Boston.

VICTOR S. YARROS is now on the teaching staff of the Armour institute, Chicago, but was for years one of the principal editorial writers of the Chicago Daily News. His service in that capacity filled many of the years when that famous newspaper was owned by Mr. Victor Lawson, and the entire period of the proprietorship of Mr. Walter Strong.

FRED EASTMAN is professor of biography and religious drama at the Chicago Theological seminary and a contributing editor to The Christian Century. Dr. Eastman's own eminence in the field of religious drama has brought to him general recognition as leader in the movement to obtain for that art the place which it should have in the ministry of the American churches. As is stated in connection with his article, supplementary materials designed to aid local churches in putting into practice the principles outlined by Dr. Eastman may be obtained from the Chicago seminary.

PART TWO dealing with relations between the faiths in America has been prepared with the editorial assistance of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, 289 Fourth avenue, New York city.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

January 22, 1936

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON, *Editor*
PAUL HUTCHINSON, *Managing Editor*
WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*

Contributing Editors

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH — REINHOLD NIEBUHR
ALVA W. TAYLOR — JOSEPH FORT NEWTON
HERBERT L. WILLETT — KIRBY PAGE
FRED EASTMAN — ROBERT A. ASHWORTH
THOMAS CURTIS CLARK

Staff Correspondents

EDWARD SHILLITO (London) — E. GUERON (Istanbul)
MARCUS A. SPENCER (Glasgow) — VERE V. LOPER (Denver)
STANLEY A. HUNTER (San Francisco) — ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR. (Tampa)
T. T. BRUMBAUGH (Tokyo) — IVAN LEE HOLT (St. Louis)
R. H. MARKHAM (Vienna) — EDGAR DEWITT JONES (Detroit)
FRANK RAWLINSON (Shanghai) — E. TALLMADGE ROOT (Boston)
W. A. VISSER 'T HOOFT (Geneva) — T. MARKHAM TALMAGE (Honolulu)
E. A. FRIDELL (Seattle) — W. S. ABERNETHY (Washington)
ROY L. SMITH (Los Angeles) — E. W. STODGHILL (Minneapolis)
JOHN RAY EWERS (Pittsburgh) — P. OOMMAN PHILIP (Nagpur)
ERNEST THOMAS (Toronto) — C. D. BRODHEAD (Philadelphia)
DON T. TULLIS (Cleveland) — EDWIN T. BUEHRER (New York)
CHARLES T. HOLMAN (Chicago) — JOHN CLARENCE PETRIE (Memphis)
JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON (Waco) — E. K. HIGDON (Manila)
JOSEPH MYERS, JR. (Kansas City) — E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN (Indianapolis)
CLARENCE A. NEFF (Mexico) — EDWARD MOWBRAY TATE (Bangkok)

Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Copyrighted 1935 in the United States. All rights reserved.
Published weekly by the Christian Century Press, 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

$4.00 a year. Foreign postage, $1.56 extra

Contents

PART I

Editorial
- Editorial Paragraphs....131
- The AAA Decision....134
- The Roman Fringe....136

Quintus Quiz: That Awful Word 'Art'....137

Contributed Articles
- Does the Bible Talk Economics? by Edward Tallmadge Root....139
- The Judicial Veto, by Victor S. Yarros....141
- Religious Drama in the United States, by Fred Eastman....143

Books
- Roger B. Taney, by Carl Brent Swisher....145

Correspondence....146

The Question Box....148

News of the Christian World
- Correspondence from Central Europe....149
- Correspondence from the Mid-South....149
- Correspondence from England....150
- Correspondence from Southern California....151
- Correspondence from Germany....152
- Correspondence from Pittsburgh....153
- Student Volunteer Convention....154
- Correspondence from New York....156

The New Films....158

Books Received....159

PART II

Three Cultures: Human Relations Among Protestants, Catholics and Jews....161

Calendar of Coming Events

Jan. 21, 22. Missionary assembly, First Baptist church, Lake City, Fla.
Jan. 21-22. Washington state conference of Baptist pastors, Seattle, Wash.
Jan. 21-23. Conference on cause and cure of war, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 21-23. Missionary assembly, First Baptist church, Jacksonville, Florida.
Jan. 22. Annual meeting of the Save the Children fund, New York City.
Jan. 22-23. Kagawa conferences, Phila.
Jan. 23. International Christian youth conference, interdenominational, Lakeside, Ohio.
Jan. 23, 24. Missionary assembly, Community Methodist church, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Jan. 24. Kagawa conference, Brooklyn, N. Y., 2:30 and 8:00 p.m., with luncheon, ministers' conference and evening meeting.
Jan. 25. Kagawa conference, Manhattan, N. Y. Ministers' conference at 10 a.m., place to be announced. Meeting at 2 p.m. of the Eastern cooperative association. Place to be announced.
Jan. 25. Methodist Youth conference for Wilmington district of Delaware conference, St. Daniel's church, Chester, Pa.
Jan. 25-27. National council Jewish federation and welfare funds, Hotel Chase, St. Louis.
Jan. 25-27. Child Labor day, auspices National child labor committee.
Jan. 25-30. Missionary assembly, Trinity Methodist church, Miami, Fla.
Jan. 27. Annual meeting Chicago church federation, LaSalle hotel, Chicago. Speaker, Dr. Ivan Lee Holt.
Jan. 27. Kagawa program, Manhattan. 12 o'clock, Columbia university chapel; 7 p.m., dinner at Hotel Astor, Broadway and 44th street.
Jan. 27-31. 28th Congregational convocation week, Bangor seminary, Bangor, Me.
Jan. 28. Annual meeting commission on men's work of Methodist church, Chicago.
Jan. 28. Lehigh valley ministerial association, Methodist, First church, Easton, Pa.
Jan. 28, 29. Missionary assembly, Park Temple Methodist church, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Jan. 29. Methodist annual meeting, Delaware conference board of education, Zion church, Wilmington, Del.
Jan. 29-31. Missionary assembly, First Methodist church, Palm Beaches, Fla.
Jan. 30. Woman's interdenominational union annual luncheon, Bellevue-Stratford, Phila.
Jan. 30. Safeguarding of marriage seminar, Central Y.M. C.A., Phila. Dr. L. F. Wood.
Feb. 1-5. Missionary assembly, First Presbyterian church, Orlando, Fla.
Feb. 2-5. Missionary assembly, Southern Methodist church, Deland, Fla.
Feb. 2-8. Presbyterian lectures at Union seminary, Richmond, Va. Robert E. Speer, Charles R. Erdman and John W. Wells, speakers.
Feb. 3. Methodist Delaware conference training school, Zoar church, Philadelphia, Pa.
Feb. 3-5. Indiana state pastors conference, First Baptist church, Indianapolis, Ind.
Feb. 3-7. Ministers' week, Chicago Theological seminary. Including the Alden-Tuthill lectures, by Dr. Arthur E. Morgan of the TVA.
Feb. 5-7. Missionary assembly, First Presbyterian church, Winter Haven, Fla.
Feb. 5-7. Missionary assembly, First Methodist church, Lakeland, Fla.
Feb. 10. Union ministers meeting, Dr. Kagawa speaker, 2:30 p.m. 6:00 p.m. Laymen's dinner, Chicago.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

VOLUME LIII CHICAGO, JANUARY 22, 1936 NUMBER 4

EDITORIAL

HARD on the heels of the Student Volunteer convention pressed the meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, held at Asbury Park, New Jersey, from January 8 to 10. Two conclusions seem to have stood out above the others reached by the mission board executives in this annual gathering. First, the movement toward freeing the "younger churches" from missionary control is proceeding rapidly. Not only the organization, but the intellectual expression, of these churches is passing out of missionary domination. And as freedom increases, the tendency toward church union also increases. In such countries as Mexico and Japan, where the Protestant churches have obtained full liberty, church union seems easy of accomplishment. Second, it is generally recognized that the most neglected field of mission work now lies in rural regions. On every continent the occidental mission forces are therefore preparing to devote a greatly increased portion of such strength as they have to rural work. The Asbury Park session was particularly stirred by Dr. Kagawa's presentation of the needs of rural Japan; it voted to begin consideration of plans by which the churches of the United States and Canada will provide the thousand rural chapels which are needed immediately in Dr. Kagawa's rural campaign among the Japanese.

Free Churches Tend Toward Union

Motion Pictures, Liquor And Block-Booking

WHAT happened recently at the Picadilly and Shakespeare motion picture theaters in Chicago exemplifies the ability of public opinion to correct a mistaken motion picture policy whenever the power to change the policy is in the hands of the local exhibitors. The January 1 issue of The Christian Century spoke editorially of the tie-up the manager of those theaters had made with the liquor industry. He offered a small bottle of Three Star Hennessey with an admission ticket at the Shakespeare, and a bottle of wine on certain days with every forty cent admission ticket at the Picadilly. Promptly the local council of churches protested both to the theater manager and to the mayor. Another protest was lodged with the Illinois liquor commission. The Hyde Park Herald gave full publicity to these protests. As a result the manager canceled his offer of liquor and offered an apology to the churches, promising that there would be no repetition of such a liaison with the liquor traffic. The important thing is that in this matter the exhibitor's hands were not tied by the motion picture industry as a whole. He was free to respond to local community pressure. It is just that freedom which friends of better motion pictures seek in their efforts to abolish the block-booking system, which compels exhibitors to buy and show pictures that are objected to by the better elements of the exhibitor's own community as against the public interest. Remember this when you receive the disingenuous defense of block-booking that the Hays office is now sending out in pamphlet form in an effort to defeat the pending Pettengill bill.

The Congregationalists Are for Peace!

AS final results of the peace poll in the Congregational-Christian churches come in, it becomes clear that the Congregational council for social action has rung the bell in its first major enterprise. Not only has it secured a genuine church-wide discussion of a major contemporary issue, but it has produced a comprehensive response to the denominational plebiscite. Fifty-five per cent of the churches participated; an astonishing result in this most individualistic of denominations. Two hundred thousand individuals—approximately a fourth of the total membership—voted. In the future, therefore, when reference is made to what "the Congregationalists think" or "the Congregationalists say" on war or peace or cognate issues, it will be exceedingly difficult to attack the reliability of the test offered by this plebiscite's figures. Final tabulations of the returns do not change the proportions of the vote given in these pages (see The Christian Century for December 25, 1935) on the basis of the first 100,000 returns. On the major issue of supporting war, only six per cent adopt the "theirs not to reason why" attitude of being willing to support any war voted by the govern-

ment. Forty-two per cent demand that every agency for peace be tried before resorting to arms. Thirty-three per cent will not budge until American territory has been invaded. Fifteen per cent adopt the out-and-out pacifist position. When it came to choosing between methods of securing peace the choices of the Congregationalists proved no less instructive, even though the total vote on these questions was somewhat smaller. Joining the League of Nations was voted down, 90,000 to 70,000. A seven to one majority favored consultation with other nations in support of the Kellogg pact and other peace agreements. Strict neutrality legislation appealed to 84,000 while 55,000 dissented. Perhaps the most surprising result was the five to one majority for a more equal distribution of world resources and markets. (Did the voters fully understand the implications of that proposal?) The vote was two to one for the abolition of compulsory military training in colleges and high schools; eight to one for government control of the munitions industry. If other church groups are in this same mood, the next attempt to whip the nation into a fighting fury may not succeed as easily as the one made twenty years ago.

Another Interference With Business

UNEMPLOYMENT does not continue for lack of remedial suggestions. Not only do we have all sorts of public work, made work and boondoggling proposals but hundreds of projects looking to cooperative efforts among groups of unemployed to help themselves by mutual give and take of services and goods. The common trouble with them all is that they hurt "legitimate" business. The Epic plan in California hurt legitimate business so much, even in its mere enunciation, that it was never allowed to come to birth. Business is already beginning to see the great evils—for it—inherent in the consumers' cooperative movement which, among other things, will cause a loss to the legitimate business of advertising. Even the direct relief of the poor necessitates heavy taxation, and this also has to come out of the profits of legitimate business. As a matter of fact, we are beginning to wonder whether it is possible to help the "have nots" without being hard on the "haves." Especially are we moved to consider that side of the question when we see that other countries face the same difficulty. Even such a conservative government as that of Poland, never noted for its new dealish tendencies, cannot, it seems, achieve even a small measure of "justice" without doing harm at the same time. In Poland they have just passed an amnesty law commuting death penalties for crimes committed before November 1934 to life imprisonment. Not much of a gesture of mercy, but something. And yet it has hurt at least one hitherto self-supporting and self-respecting professional man, to wit, the public executioner. He has appealed to the ministry of justice—and our authority is not Mr. Ripley but the Associated Press—for compensation for the loss of his means of livelihood. Working, as he has done, on a piecework basis, and for the very reasonable price of $9 a job, he has not accumulated a competency for his old age, and he, like the American business man, objects to having the state do good at his expense. There ought to be a lesson for somebody in this, although what the lesson is perhaps depends on whether the learner is a business man or somebody out of a job.

Reassuring Reactions to the Neutrality Bills

IF anything more were needed to convince Americans that mandatory neutrality legislation will help to keep their country out of war the reactions to the bills now before congress reported from London and Paris should be sufficient. Both England and France, according to the correspondents, are deeply perturbed. Where, if such neutrality legislation is enacted, will they get such war materials as cotton, copper and oil? Whence would come their munitions? And most of all, who would supply their loans? The British reaction, according to the New York Times, has been especially painful, for it has "begun to dawn upon the people of this island that Britain would be placed in the same class with an aggressor in case she should be drawn into military or naval sanctions on behalf of the League of Nations." The French, the same newspaper reports, do not put it quite that way, for the French are fooling neither themselves nor anybody else about going to war in behalf of the League of Nations. But they are worried about their sources of supply, both material and financial, in case of war with Germany. And they hold that they have far more reason for worry than the virtually self-contained British empire. All of which, from the American viewpoint, adds up to an acknowledgment that, with the proposed law in effect, the methods that operated to pull the United States into the last world war would have little chance of operating to pull us into the next one. For which reason, all such expressions of dismay from Europe will go to increase popular insistence in this country that an inclusive neutrality law be enacted, and that it be made completely mandatory.

The Bankers and America's Road to War

AFTER a week of examination by the senate arms inquiry, it cannot be said that either the Morgan partners or Mr. Frank W. Vanderlip have added anything startling to previous knowledge of the part played by the banks in the two-and-a-half-year process by which the United States was carried into the world war. A little more light has been thrown on the intimate relations which existed between the Morgan interests—as represented in London and Paris firms—and the governments of Great Britain and France. There have been minor revelations concerning the bitter competition between banking companies to obtain the juicy government commissions. But for the most part, the picture drawn has been the picture already familiar to readers of C. Hartley Grattan's "Why We

Fought," Walter Millis's "Road to War" and the fifth volume of Ray Stannard Baker's monumental biography of Woodrow Wilson. Again, William Jennings Bryan emerges as the only figure at Washington in those days who seemed to realize how credits and loans would tie this country up with the fate of the allies. "Money is the worst of all contrabands because it commands everything else," said Bryan. And that is by far the wisest and the truest word which has so far come out of the hearings. But Bryan was fighting a losing fight. At the very time he was assuring the chairman of the senate's foreign affairs committee that loans were still taboo, the bankers were going ahead on Mr. Lansing's assurance (apparently obtained from President Wilson behind Mr. Bryan's back) that "credits" could be advanced the allied belligerents. It only needed the final forcing out of Mr. Bryan, and Mr. McAdoo's reminder to his chief that "Great Britain is, and always has been, our best customer," and that "great prosperity is coming," to bring the "go ahead" signal from Mr. Wilson—"orally conveyed, and not put in writing"—to the Chicago banker, Mr. James B. Forgan. The conclusion of the whole matter seems plainly to be that a nation which puts its money in on one side of a world war will not be able to keep itself out.

Theological Students Stand on the Left

MR. HEARST will have another group of students to view with alarm if and when he finds out what the current crop of theological seminarians say they believe. That is to say, taking the three hundred students from 62 seminaries who attended the recent national conference at Indianapolis as representative, an overwhelming majority turn out to be ready to avow radical social views. At the close of the two-day conference an "attitude poll" was taken among the 140 students present at that time. The outcome was instructive. One hundred and thirty-six of the students insisted that the individual and social aspects of the teachings of Jesus cannot be separated. Bringing capitalism before the bar, 64 were for immediate execution, 37 pleaded that the capitalistic system still has definite merit, while there were 28 who couldn't make up their minds. Seventy-five believed that socialism provides the best medium for the expression of the Christian faith in the period that lies ahead. (On this question, nine voted for capitalism; 23 were for some unnamed plan or plans which would establish a planned economy.) By the decisive vote of 108 to 27 the students supported the right of employers and employes alike to collective bargaining. The cooperative movement received almost unanimous endorsement as an essential method for creating a better society. An overwhelming majority felt that the church is obligated to protect the right of free speech in discussion of social issues. On war the voting was more confused. While 125 stated that they hold war to be sin and would not bless participation in it, only 70 were sworn pacifists; 37 would fight in case of invasion, while 17 would participate in a class but not in an international war. If this is the sort of thinking which is going into the Protestant pulpits of the land these days, the effect a few years hence may be astonishing.

The Moral Equivalent Of Kidnaping

KIDNAPING for ransom is a no more respectable method of getting money than is the scheme now put forth, apparently on the authority of the nazi government, for squeezing cash and credits out of sympathizers with German Jews. The plan in its entirety includes these elements: (1) Make conditions intolerable for Jews in Germany. That has already been done. (2) Make it impossible for those who emigrate to take their property with them. That also has been done. (3—and now we come to the new stuff) Get permission from the British government, or let the Jews get it, for them to settle in Palestine or in British territory to the number of from 100,000 to 250,000. (4) Let emigrating Jews take their capital with them, minus a levy of 25 per cent, but only in the form of German-made goods and in an amount equal to double the amount of the capital that is to be exported. (5) Get foreign Jews and sympathizing gentiles to furnish the funds to finance the purchase of the other half of the goods. Thus, if an emigrating Jew has 20,000 marks, the government will take 5,000, foreigners will add 15,000 to the remaining 15,000, and German goods to the amount of 30,000 marks will be exported. The result will be not only that the public treasury will be enriched by one-fourth of the wealth of the Jews, but that German manufactures will be stimulated by the sale of goods to double the amount of the exported Jewish capital. There are vague threats, but not too vague to be understood, that if the foreign sympathizers with German Jews do not come across with the funds, another turn will be given to the screw of persecution. The kidnaping parallel is perfect. No more cold-blooded and disreputable scheme was ever devised to stimulate business by playing upon the sympathies of the world and practicing cruelty upon the defenseless.

Giving the Social Gospel Practical Expression

ONLY an editorial office which vainly tries to keep up with a flood of requests asking for definite directions by which to conduct definite kinds of social evangelism can fully appreciate the value of the pamphlet by Dr. James Myers just published by the Federal council of churches. At a rough estimate, we would guess that fully half the inquiries received regarding practical applications of the social gospel to American conditions can be answered by reference to this booklet. Of its forty pages, all but four or five are filled with suggestions of things which a church or a church society or an individual church member can do to give evidence of social concern. Along with the suggestions go specific directions as to how to carry the suggestions into effect. Among the projects discussed are the mak-

ing of surveys, educational trips, intergroup meetings, the adoption of pronouncements (with warnings!), parades, dramatizations, working for social legislation, educational enterprises, cooperation with Catholics and Jews, social work and community service, work for slum clearance, consumers' cooperatives, interracial commissions, work with the unemployed, cooperation with organized labor, and the use of newspapers, radio and libraries. So much important material has been crammed into this pamphlet that it is hopeless to attempt to quote parts of it. The important thing about it, anyway, is that it is cheap—ten cents for single copies, and $7 per hundred. The Federal council, at 105 East 22nd street, New York city, is the distributor.

The AAA Decision

At the Jackson day dinner in Washington President Roosevelt told his supporters that the majority and minority opinions of the supreme court in the Agricultural Adjustment administration case are "two of the most momentous opinions ever rendered." "The ultimate results of the language of these opinions," he declared, "will profoundly affect the lives of Americans for years to come." Most of the millions who were listening in, it is safe to say, instinctively recognized the truth of the President's words. Yet most of those who felt that the words were true would have been hard put to it to formulate, even to themselves, the reasons *why* they were true.

Those reasons, the nation at large will come to understand, go far beyond the immediate effect on the national recovery of the cessation of AAA benefit payments to farmers. It is by no means clear that the stoppage of such payments will register disastrously on manufacturing and retail selling until considerable time has passed. Secretary Wallace prophesied almost two years ago that if the AAA were upset, and no compensatory program adopted, it might take as much as two years for this to bring agricultural purchasing power down to the prostrate level of 1933. Such emergency measures as the administration is now preparing to introduce into congress are expected to maintain at least a considerable part of the increase in farm income which has been gained during the last three years.

Neither is the AAA decision primarily important in its bearing on the fortunes of the two parties as they are about to enter on another presidential compaign. It is, of course, more than slightly disconcerting to the democrats to have this second pillar of the new deal structure toppled just at a juncture when the need of the "ins" is greatest for something to which to "point with pride." But the republicans cannot extract much political capital from this decision. The republican platform for 1932 demanded the same control of farm production which is now declared unconstitutional; republican leaders from the states most benefited by the AAA have shown themselves as distressed as the democrats by the court's ruling.

But if the decision is not evocative of the grave language employed by Mr. Roosevelt because of its immediate economic or partisan effects, why does the nation have this instinctive—and justified—feeling that when the supreme court handed down this judgment, together with the dissenting opinion, it was making history? To answer that question it is necessary to take into account not only this, but the NRA decision, as well.

The economic crisis which the Roosevelt administration faced on taking office in 1933 was generally held to have been due to the catastrophic working of a laissez faire order. Insufficiently regulated industry had, by the headlong nature of its pursuit of profits, produced a condition of virtual economic anarchy. This anarchy had resulted in a national collapse. The remedy, as then seemed both obvious and obligatory, must be a closer approach to a national planned economy. Production must be brought into balance with consumption. (Not consumption needs, but consumption possibilities in the light of purchasing power.) The result, for industry, was the NRA; for agriculture, the AAA.

That there is a differing emotional reaction to the destruction of these two pillars of the new deal is clear, and the reason is not far to seek. The NRA was practically dead already when the supreme court killed it judicially. The mourners at its grave were comparatively few, and politically they were not impressive. But the AAA has been a success. It has achieved the ends it sought, having witnessed an approximate doubling of farm income during the period it has been in effect. The mourners around the grave of the AAA will be many, and their political importance large. Nevertheless, to one intent on discovering the long-range historical importance of these two decisions, it is imperative to disregard this differing popular reaction and concentrate on the legal issues and implications involved.

The NRA was an attempt, however bungling, to supply the need for a balanced national economy through federal control—operating by means of industrial codes—of wages, hours and conditions of work. The supreme court knocked this out, unanimously, as an invasion of states rights. It held that the constitution as it now stands grants to the federal government authority only over interstate commerce. It denied itself any right to take into account "the economic advantages or disadvantages" to be gained from the NRA. It insisted that the sole question which the court could pass on under the present constitution was as to whether the industry involved was interstate or intrastate. Justice Cardozo, with Justice Stone concurring *(nota bene!)*, took the extraordinary step of writing a supplementary opinion to hammer this point home. Then the court proceeded to define as intrastate commerce, beyond federal regulation, practically everything in American economic life which experience had suggested needed regulation on a national basis. It called attention to language used in another decision, which affirmed that "building, mining, manufacturing or growing crops" are "essentially local." By unanimous definition of the supreme court, therefore,

any attempt to establish a national economic control under the interstate commerce clause of the constitution over retailing (the case involved in the Schechter chickens), mining, manufacturing or agriculture was ruled unconstitutional.

What was the government to do? Assuming that modern conditions create a need to control these basic economic factors in a nation's life on a national basis, to what part of the constitution could the government turn for the necessary powers? Was it true that *all* attempts at national economic planning are unconstitutional—as the constitution now stands—or were only attempts made under the interstate commerce clause unconstitutional? This was the fundamental question at stake when the supreme court passed on the AAA. For the arguments in behalf of the AAA attempted to justify a national plan of control for a major industry, agriculture, by appealing to the "general welfare" (article I, section 8) clause of the constitution.

What happened? Here it is vital to see where the members of the court agreed, and where they parted company. They agreed on two things: first, that the imposition of a processing tax, as such, is within the powers of congress; second, that the general welfare clause gives congress the power to tax and to spend for the public benefit. But they parted company over the question of the limits of this power. The minority held these limits to be three: first, the benefit sought must be national; second, it must not be used to coerce action left to state control; third, the patriotism and good sense of the legislative and executive branches must operate as a factor guarding against abuse.

The majority set up a rule for determining the limits of the taxing and dispensing power under the general welfare clause of an entirely different sort. It held that the power "to provide for the general welfare" cannot be used to secure ends otherwise unconstitutional. Then, by appeal to the tenth amendment, the majority threw the case straight back into the same states rights framework on which the NRA case had been decided. Since control of agriculture is nowhere specifically granted to the federal government in the constitution, the majority held that a strict construction of the tenth amendment requires that it be treated as one of the subjects reserved for state control. Collection of a processing tax and its disbursement as a means of setting up a virtual federal control is really a way of trying to get around this states rights reservation, and hence cannot be held in the general welfare. It follows, therefore, since it is not in the general welfare, that it—that is to say, the AAA—is unconstitutional.*

Seldom has a minority expressed its dissent from a decision of the supreme court in language approaching that used by Justice Stone. It is difficult, in fact, for the outsider to understand how the ordinary amenities of the bench can stand up under such blistering scorn as Justice Stone, with the concurrence of Justice Brandeis and Justice Cardozo, poured on the opinion of his colleagues. The opinion written by Justice Roberts, he declared, "hardly rises to the dignity of argument." It "must lead to absurd consequences." It rests on "a tortured construction of the constitution." It is a denial "that language, even of a constitution, may mean what it says—that the power to tax and to spend includes the power to relieve a nation-wide economic maladjustment by conditional gifts of money."

Space is lacking for further direct quotation, but, baldly stated, Justice Stone's dissent accuses the majority of the court of judicial usurpation. In what respect? In that, while not contradicting the right of congress to levy and dispense this tax, the court has gone ahead to pronounce the action unconstitutional because of the purpose for which the tax was to be dispensed. This, the minority maintains, involves a claim that "it is the business of the courts to sit in judgment on the wisdom of legislative action." The courts have no such business: "courts are concerned only with the power to enact statutes, not with their wisdom." And the actual result of the majority's rule for determining the limits of the general welfare clause is to give the courts the power to pass on the use to which money legally raised is put. Or, in the light of the implications of the complete decision, this means that the court has not only knocked out the AAA, but it has for the first time in American history asserted its power over another matter hitherto supposed to be entirely in the hands of congress—control of the public purse!

Here, then, is to be found the secret of the anger so apparent behind the dissent of Justices Stone, Brandeis and Cardozo. These three justices, despite their well-attested comprehension of the realities of modern economic life, had felt themselves forced to concur in the NRA decision holding that the national problems thus created cannot, as the constitution now stands, be dealt with under the interstate commerce clause of that document. But they evidently believed that there were *other* parts of the document which might be effectively employed to that end. They found such a part in the general welfare clause. Whereupon, according to a dissent which is in reality an accusation, they found their six colleagues ready to employ a "tortuous" legalistic device to prevent the constitution from granting a right which the social philosophy of the six justices found repugnant. In other words, the majority had established that which the minority had heretofore been unwilling to admit, namely, that *any* control of basic industries in the United States on a national basis requires an alteration in the constitution.

Knowing how dangerous any issue of constitutional change is bound to prove in a national election, President Roosevelt and his advisers are now trying to hold the situation together by devising stop-gap measures which can be rushed through congress and kept in effect (whatever their ultimate constitutional fate) until after next November. We have no quarrel with this strategy, although we think the President will find it hard to stick to it if—as seems likely—the supreme

*In the light of this rigid construction of the tenth amendment, holding that no powers are given the federal government except those expressly stated in the constitution, many laymen would find it interesting to know where, in that same document, Justice Roberts and his majority colleagues find the express grant of power to rule on the constitutionality of laws enacted by congress.

court follows up its AAA decision by knocking out most of the rest of the new deal legislation.

But the President can have no illusions about the long-range effects of this decision, just as the three dissenting justices had no illusions. He must know that treating agriculture as a local concern is ridiculous. Treating mining and manufacturing as local concerns is also ridiculous. The interests which hail such decisions are the interests which believe it to their personal profit to have a condition of virtual anarchy in the field of the national economy, such as is produced by forty-eight separate sovereignties, instead of order, such as may be obtained under a single control. Such anarchy cannot continue indefinitely without bringing another national collapse. If it is not to continue, either the present minority, which finds sufficient federal power in the general welfare clause, must become the majority of the supreme court, or the constitution must be amended.

The Roman Fringe

NOT to put any hindrance in the way of establishing all possible good will and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews but, on the contrary, to do something toward removing one obstacle to the attainment of that very desirable end, it is necessary to take cognizance of the recent pronunciamento of the twenty-nine Anglo-catholics who call upon their own brethren in particular and the Christian world in general to seek unity by a return to Rome. Their statement was written to accompany a summons to all to unite, during the week of January 18 to 25, in prayer for the unity of the whole church. Back of this appeal stands the American committee of the Church Unity Octave council.

First of all, it needs to be understood that the reunion of the churches is one thing, and the establishment of friendly and cooperative relations among the members of different churches is another thing. The two are not unrelated, but they are not the same. There cannot be unity without the abolition of prejudice, bitterness and all unkindenss; but there can be good will, mutual respect and practical cooperation among the members of churches, both as citizens and as Christians, without ecclesiastical unity. Both are important objectives, but it is also important not to confuse them. The wholesome and salutary work of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, to which the supplement of this issue of The Christian Century is devoted, would be impossible without a clear realization that its purpose and its methods are entirely detached from propaganda for the creation of a single church either by compromise or by the surrender of any one of the three constituent elements—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—to either of the others.

It is therefore possible to criticize any proposed program of church unity without, either directly or by implication, criticizing the plans for cooperation. Indeed, those plans for cooperation can go forward without hindrance or embarrassment only if the public mind is not confused by simultaneous declarations that one or another of the religious groups is on the rock and by demands for unity by surrender and disappearance.

The twenty-nine Anglo-catholics—to be more specific we may call them the Octavists—are apparently not much interested in cooperation and good will. Doubtless they fraternize with Roman Catholics so far as they can; and one of them, Mr. Ralph Adams Cram, wrote a volume on "The Catholic Church and Art" in the Calvert series of Roman Catholic apologetic and propagandist books. But such fellowship as they have had with Roman Catholics has been at the price of abandonment of fellowship with Protestants. Bemoaning the fact that, as Anglicans in America, they are "tarred with the Protestant brush," obviously they are in no mood to cultivate further amenities with those who are in the tar-pot. Such contamination is to be avoided by all who would be on the side of the angels "when the time of sifting is at hand." So it cannot be said that they have sought the wider brotherhood of man by the way of catholic good will and the cooperative spirit. They preach unity and cultivate separation from all who are not of their opinion. Their objective is not a catholic fellowship but Roman Catholic absorption of all churches.

The prolegomena to their argument, if it can be called argument, is that Protestantism has collapsed. It is "bankrupt ethically, culturally, morally and religiously. Its driving force, negative at best, has exhausted itself, and it has ceased to attract or inspire. The forces of the day have proved too strong for Protestantism and it is disintegrating rapidly."

These are familiar words; not true words, but very familiar. With all its faults, and they are many, Protestantism has retained among its virtues the power of self-criticism. It minimizes its achievements and magnifies its failures. Protestant Christians of the more intelligent sort have in their hearts an ideal of Christian culture, faith, liberty and morality, both individual and social, so far in advance of anything the world or the church has yet been able to attain that they are disposed to beat upon their breasts and declare that they have come far short of the glory of God, or even of the proper glory of man. Similarly, men whose political principles are fundamentally democratic lament that grievous evils have grown up under cover of democracy; and men who are at heart the stoutest of liberals declare that liberalism, from which so much was expected a generation or two ago, has disappointed their expectations. And passers-by, who do not know the meaning of liberalism or democracy, wag their heads and say, See how bankrupt democracy and liberalism have become! That is what they are saying in soviet Russia, in fascist Italy, in nazi Germany, in imperialistic Japan. That is what is always said by those who see success only in terms of nationalistic or institutional solidarity.

Protestantism, liberalism and democracy are not bankrupt. They would be if they were blind to their own shortcomings. Moral bankruptcy is the attribu

not of groups that struggle toward the light, aware of their imperfections, sympathetic with all others who fight their way upward though by different paths, and encouraging all men to work out their salvation with fear and trembling, but of those who think themselves already perfect and would impose the pattern of their perfection upon all mankind.

Protestantism is indeed in a state of confusion; if not impotent, it is at least enfeebled by its divisions and its lack of plans for concerted action. But its confusion can be remedied only by an increase of intelligence; its unity and power can be augmented only by such intelligent agreement as leaves unimpaired the liberty of Christian men. Liberalism and democracy are also in confusion, but clarification and efficiency are not to be found by substituting any form of cultural or political regimentation.

The first thought that will be suggested to many minds by this appeal of the twenty-nine is that it discloses the inevitable trend of Anglo-catholicism toward Rome. This is an error. Anglo-catholicism does not tend toward Rome. Roman Catholics know this very well. There is, to be sure, some migration across the frontiers, but it occurs in both directions and, so far as the facts can be ascertained, in not very different amounts. The chief reason why the impression prevails that the movement is chiefly toward Rome is that, while a Roman Catholic who becomes an Anglican usually keeps quiet about it, an Anglican who becomes a Roman Catholic generally writes a book. The statement, thus baldly put, is too sweeping; but the essential fact is that the quantity of literary exploitation of these changes is not an accurate index of their numbers.

In principle, as well as in fact, Anglo-catholicism is not a half-way house on the road to Rome. True, Anglo-catholics believe and do many things that Roman Catholics believe and do. All or some of them believe in transubstantiation, purgatory and the seven sacraments, and practice invocation of the saints and the Virgin Mary, reservation of the sacrament, auricular confession, and the use of elaborate vestments and much incense. They strongly stress the catholicity and continuity of the church and the concept of the church as not merely the body of believers but the mystical body of Christ. But none of these things make a man a Roman Catholic. For that, one thing is needful: the acceptance of the belief that obedience to the see of Rome is the criterion of catholicity and, in consequence, submission to the authority of Rome. The line is perfectly sharp and clear. Submit and you can be a Roman Catholic; refuse to submit and you cannot. Indeed, the term commonly used for the consummation of the Roman convert's act is "submission."

The fact that a little group of members of the Protestant Episcopal church, consisting of twenty-two clergymen and seven laymen, publicly express the opinion that catholicity must find its center in Rome would be of no great significance if it had not received a degree of publicity disproportionate to its importance. Whether the publication of this document constitutes disloyalty to their own church, "a defiance of law and order within the church" and "a token of bad manners and ignorance of what the church stands for," as some of the clergy have said, is a question that must be left to the Episcopalians to decide. Note should, however, be taken of the prompt repudiation of the sentiments of the declaration by Episcopalians in general, including those whose sympathies are on the Anglo-catholic side. The Living Church says: "There is certainly nothing disloyal to Anglican principles in praying for the fulfilment of the divine will as regards the unity of God's church, but we cannot see how the identifying of that divine will with the Roman claims can be regarded as loyalty either to Anglican principles or, what is far more important, to the undivided catholic church."

The pathos of the situation is that here is a group of men who, it may well be believed, sincerely desire to promote the unity of the church, yet who take a course whose only possible result is to accentuate its division. Yes, Protestantism is divided, as their statement points out. Protestantism has tended far too much to division. But Roman Catholicism has also tended to division. It gave rise to that great separation in which Protestantism began. It is unhistorical to appeal to history to prove that Protestantism cannot unite, and at the same time forget that Rome could not retain the united allegiance of western Christendom even when it had it. Protestant and Catholic cannot point the finger of criticism at each other and say, "*You* have caused division in the church." Not *you* but *we* have caused it—both of us. If there is ever to be an all-embracing unity, we must both repent and seek the ways of peace, not of conquest. Unity does not come by submission.

Meanwhile, such ill timed episodes as this should not be permitted to stand in the way of the more immediate enterprise of knitting together Protestants, Catholics and Jews into one fellowship which, if not ecclesiastically united, is yet one in mutual respect and understanding and in a common purpose to redeem human life from all that is base, cruel and oppressive.

That Awful Word 'Art'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: You may have read the title of this letter by this time and you may have said, with a frown, "Quiz becomes a Philistine!" But the title is taken from the words of a fine artist, Mr. Arthur Wragg, who has used his fearless imagination to reveal the horrors of modern social life and to show the hollowness of so much of our homage to Christ. It is Mr. Wragg who dreads the exponents of "great art."

He dreads them because they have seized upon Mickey Mouse. In that excellent English paper, the St. Martin's Review—it is the review started by Dr. Dick Sheppard—he makes his protest against those who threaten to kill one of the best things that have come our way this century. "The moment Mickey became the pet of the highbrows and was elected to his place among the Arts, the moment he received the

plaudits of those who know Art when they see it, he became threatened with extinction as far as you and I and Mrs. Smith are concerned. For Mickey deserves more than this awful respect, which may one day make him self-conscious and start to improve our minds, to raise our sense of humor above the comic."

Mr. Wragg proceeds to back up the lowbrows who don't know anything about rhythms or a series of patterns. "You laugh because it is comic to you?" he says. "Then you are right, perfectly right. That awful word Art should not be mentioned about Mickey. He is outside and beyond Art." For "Walt Disney happens to have shown us what lies in ourselves and has revealed how whole audiences of every nationality and every age and type can suddenly change into a lot of very honest little girls and boys." And Mickey is for the artist not Art at all, but a glimpse of the kingdom of heaven which is within. And it is not improbable that one by-product of our becoming as little children would be the silencing of all highbrows and their talk of rhythms and the rising to heaven of roars of laughter when Mickey appears.

But we must not let such good things be sacrificed to the art devotees. Their jargon is easily mastered. You talk of rhythm not in music, but in art; you talk of colors not in a picture—only Philistines do that—but in music. You first of all despise Walt Disney, or Charlie Chaplin; then you discover them and interpret them; then you shut the door against the unlearned who are not fit to enjoy what they do not properly interpret. "Of such is the kingdom of darkness."

Great artists are not the danger; as a rule they know little and care little about Art. It is "great art" that threatens the simple pleasures of you and me, sir, and as the sacred writer says in another connection: "Its damnation is just."

Yours feeling a little better after this explosion,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Sermon In Stones

ALONG the lake shore all day I collected
Stones for the building of the winter wall:
Flat stones with corners, carefully selected
To shape the hurdles where the winds must fall;
All day along the lake shore I conspired
To gather rocks, like words a sage assorted
To tell his wisdom, with two hands inspired
To rear my snares so that the winds be thwarted.

And when my harvest of the rocks was done,
When each was set within its proper place,
I wondered, as I watched the waning sun,
How many other men had dared to brace
Stone walls against the winds, only to know
That they had slaved their day in Jericho.

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN.

This Little Moment

AND though black shadows press about my head
And the unstarred night wrap suffocating sleeves
Around my throat; and though my dreams be dead
And all my glittering hopes prove sneaking thieves
That steal my strength away . . . this hour shall pass;
This day that drains my faith shall live to be
Dimly recalled as through a clouded glass,
While the wings of brighter hopes blur wildly free.

For there are rhythms here in life as well
As in the poet's line, and the tides come in
And the tides go out, and even as they fell
The bold suns rise, and from night the days begin.
This little moment when I nurse my sorrows
Must lose itself in myriad bright tomorrows.

SEYMOUR GORDDEN LINK.

Victory

I—What a fine statue!
MYSELF—It is Victory.
I—Proud figure.
MYSELF—We won the war.
I—Why, there's a tear in her eye.
MYSELF—I know. We did not win the enemy.

ARTHUR B. RHINOW.

Birthright

VOICE that was fashioned treble-clear,
Intended but to sing,
Now clamors in the market place,
With strained and raucous ring.

Feet that were meant to run and play,
To revel in the grass,
Tread wearily on rigid stone
While craft and profit pass.

"Where have we robbed God?" do you ask?
In factory and mart—
Wherever any child must spare
Joy's birthright from his heart.

ELINOR LENNEN.

Lonely Things

SOME lonely things are good to see:
A spray-wet gull; a sand-dune tree;
A tangled midwoods trail moss-walled;
The cold peak of a mountain bald.
But lone things on a city street
Are sights that hurt the soul to meet:
Old homes that dream of youth again,
And haunting eyes of lonely men.

CORTLANDT W. SAYRES.

Does the Bible Talk Economics?

By Edward Tallmadge Root

THE four hundredth anniversary of the translation of the Bible into English has been fittingly celebrated. But is it to leave any lasting influence? When our Anglo-Saxon race accepted as its own sacred scriptures the writings of an ancient Semitic people, it became impregnated with moral and social ideals which wrought revolution in church and state. Thence came the ecclesiastical and political democracy which we have long taken for granted. Today a new crisis is upon us. Political freedom, we are finding, is not enough. Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders have joined in a remarkable statement, affirming "belief in the necessity of a more equitable distribution of wealth and income." The Federal council puts it thus: "The present economic order involves the exploitation of one group by another. We must seek a genuinely social economy *democratically* planned." Even many capitalists admit, with Thomas W. Lamont, that "the capitalistic system has developed serious weaknesses which require more than patchwork."

Religion is strangely ignored in current discussions. Has not the Bible, which has historically proved its power to arouse the people to claim their political rights, as clear and definite a message for us as it had for our forefathers? This article, based upon over thirty years' inductive study of the social teachings of the Bible, attempts to show that it has. The contents of the Bible, so varied in date and character, reveal a social theory surprisingly consistent. The ideal of the distribution of the manna, "Nothing over—no lack," strikes the keynote. Paul quotes it in II Corinthians 8:15. "From Judea," said DeLavelye, "has come the leaven of revolution which still moves the world." But let us here confine attention to the New Testament and the central principle taught by Jesus.

I

In any consideration of wealth, we face a dilemma. It has been put bluntly: "Preachers may denounce the mad race for riches; but how is poverty to be escaped unless riches *are* raced for with consuming energy?" This dilemma faces us even in the teachings of Jesus. For though he commands: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth . . . but seek first his kingdom," he frames the latter precept between the assurances: "Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things" and "All these things shall be added unto you." Evidently Jesus distinguishes between two aspects of material things or two attitudes toward them. This paradox of poverty in a world where men need and desire, and "the Father" wills wealth, still persists. But God-given laws rule creation. Man can use its forces only by learning and obeying those laws. The same must be true of the sum of all man's effort to subdue the earth. There must be a right and a wrong use of wealth, of "all these things." Can the difference be expressed in a definite formula as clear as those used in mechanical or electrical engineering?

Christian conduct ought to mean Christlike conduct. Millions sing: "We test our lives by thine!" What would be a Christlike use of wealth? I think that we can answer with scientific accuracy. The English language—a treasure-house of the experience of many races—possesses two words commonly confused and treated as synonyms, which in derivation and correct usage differ sharply in meaning, and afford a formula. Both refer to material objects of value. But they are related much as are "health" and "disease." The words are "wealth" and "riches."

"Wealth" is one of the noblest and most suggestive of words. It is akin to the noun "weal," the adverb "well," and the verb "will." It denotes all articles of value, all things with properties which render them useful or desirable. Wealth is the sum of all the adaptations which man makes in his physical environment, sharing the power of the Creator to this extent, that he can give matter new shapes to serve new ends. Its production, therefore, is his most godlike activity and primary duty. Wealth, by its very nature, can be fully attained only by cooperation, and fully enjoyed only in common. The marriage of the adjective and the noun, in the fittest of all words to describe a democratic political order, the commonwealth, is natural and inevitable, and embodies the noblest ideal of our Anglo-Saxon race.

On the other hand, we never say "common riches." That word is etymologically akin to the Latin "rex," and denotes the privileges of one or of the few. The traditional conception of kingship is accurately described in I Samuel 8: "He will take of your sons . . . take your fields, . . . even the best of them, . . . take the tenth of your flocks; and ye shall be his servants." Such an ideal of greatness is explicitly excluded by Jesus in the passage in which he sets up his own example as the true standard: "Ye know that the rulers of the gentiles lord it over them. . . . Not so shall it be among you; but whosoever would be great among you shall be your servant." It was upon this passage that John Milton, the fountain-head of Anglo-American democracy, rested his main argument in his "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates."

The inference which Milton drew that the people have the right to call their "servants" to account, was embodied in the American constitution. Washington wrote to Lafayette that, under its system of checks and counterchecks, with periodical recurrence to the suffrage, America could never fall a victim to any form of tyranny so long as "the people retain virtue." This is the true meaning of democracy. Not that the people can rule without specialists in goverment, but that all specialists are their servants, strictly accountable. Milton well knew that he was laying down a universal principle. "I have not circumscribed my defense of

liberty," he wrote in his second "Defense." "It has excited such general and ardent expectation, that . . . surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine that, from the columns of Hercules to the Indian ocean, I behold the nations of earth recovering that liberty which they had so long lost." How great the progress which he would see today after three hundred years! Despite difficulties and reactions, to democracy *thus defined* there is no alternative. It has conquered in church and in state; everywhere save in the sphere of production and distribution.

II

In that sphere, "riches" persist, a survival of royalty, elsewhere discredited. It is assumed that each one may and must seek "riches," that this must continue to be the prevailing if not the universal motive. Any justification which this theory may claim is stolen from the word "wealth." For "riches" means wealth as held and enjoyed by an individual, and implies a disproportionate share. More accurately than any dictionary John Ruskin has defined it: "Men speak as if riches were absolute; and as if it were possible, by following certain scientific principles, for all to be rich. Whereas riches are a power, like electricity, acting through inequalities or negations of itself. The force of the guinea in your pocket depends on the default of a guinea in your neighbor's pocket. The art of becoming rich is not the art of accumulating much for ourselves, but also of contriving that our neighbors have less. In accurate terms, *it is the art of establishing the maximum inequality in our favor.*"

However this prevailing art may be attacked or defended on other grounds, we raise here but one question: Can it be reconciled with the example of Christ? Paul, the first if not the foremost interpreter of Christianity as applied to social problems, insisted that the aim of the follower of Christ must be the very opposite: "That there may be equality." (II Corinthians 8:9-15.) The phrase startles and repels. But is not the principle which the apostle lays down that upon which rests the growing system of modern mutual insurance: "Your abundance being a supply at this present time for their want, that their abundance also may become a supply for your want"? Of course, both "equality" and the "maximum inequality" are unattainable goals. The questions at issue are: Which tendency should society encourage? Which purpose in the individual is ethically justifiable? The answer of Christianity cannot be in doubt. It is to this practical task of mutual relief that Paul applies the example divine: "Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich." Every phrase in the sentence seems like an arrow sharpened to pierce the hardened conscience of our "acquisitive society."

III

Have we not found our formula? Man's primary and permanent duty is the production of wealth; his besetting and most fatal sin is the seeking of riches. Or, put sociologically instead of theologically, competetion for private riches is to be displaced by cooperation for the common wealth.

So intrenched is the competitive system in custom, law and habits of thought, that one's first reaction is to say that there is no chance of displacing it. But was not kingship once similarly intrenched? Confronting monarchy, untried democracy seemed like the stripling David challenging Goliath. Yet one well directed stone laid the giant low! It was the sentence: "It shall not be so among you: but whosoever would be great among you shall be your servant!" Milton lived to see popular reaction and the restoration. He did not live long enough to see the persistence and growing victory of his principle. Today, the monarchies and dictatorships which remain in the world, islands in an ocean of democracy, survive only because they have accepted, to so great a degree, the principle of service. When that principle is applied to the last realm of human life where unregulated privilege is still tolerated, may we not expect even there similar and momentous results? Since the crisis when George Washington recognized even an inefficient congress as his "superior," the principle has been established that military captains are subject to the civil government. Ought not "captains of industry" also be subordinated?

That such an application of Christ's principle is not irrational or impossible is proved by the fact that it has been made by capitalists themselves. Andrew Carnegie in his "Gospel of Wealth," though holding that "the present system is on the whole the best attainable," insisted that those into whose hands that system throws the control of wealth must administer it as trustees for society, and predicted that public opinion will yet decree that "the man who dies rich dies disgraced!"

This is a great concession, but evidently does not go far enough. For a man may die any moment, and if he lives rich, is he less disgraced? And modern political democracy arose when the principle was established that the people have a right to hold their servants to account. Can democracy survive in the modern world if it concedes Mr. Carnegie's claim that the capitalist can do better for the people than they can do for themselves; that, in the most important sphere of human life, the industrial, the servants of society are *not* responsible to the people but only to their own judgment and conscience? *That* precisely was the theory of the "divine right of kings" which Milton successfully refuted. Who dares to defend it today?

IV

When Jesus said: "After all these things do the nations seek," did he not mean: "See what a world seeking has created!" In this year of our Lord 19 there is no need of other argument. What men seek they find. If all seek inequality, each in his own favor, glaring inequalities must result. Booms and panics alternate. The many, receiving less than their share of production, cannot buy back all that they produce. Multitudes are in want, while storehouses are overflowing with goods which cannot be sold; and, with needs unsupplied on every side, millions of skilful hands are idle. The human race no longer is confronted with the

menace of scarcity. We are perplexed by the abundance which science has already made possible by new methods and new sources of energy. And its possibilities are not exhausted. The future may be able to assure to all a standard of living ten times the average today.

The "technocrats," who a few months ago were startling the public by such predictions, are now discredited. But some of the utterances of Howard Scott were too suggestive to be forgotten. While man is multiplying the means of production, he is increasing unemployment and poverty because of "a price system which depends upon debt for the increase of wealth." "The debt merchants whom society has placed on the bridge are trying to say in Portuguese to us engineers in the boiler room, that we must reverse the engine or the ship will go on the rocks; while we engineers are trying to explain in Malay that the engine has no reverse gear!" No wonder that thoughtful men today shudder with a haunting sense of impending calamity!

This article tries to say, in the language of religion, which both groups profess to understand, that the only escape for the ship is in the prompt application to industry of that Christian principle which has already wrought such revolutionary changes in the political sphere—greatness only for and by service. So long as the strong, the cunning are permitted by conscience and public opinion to seize upon every advantage to get luxury and power for themselves, improvements in the technique of production will continue to increase human misery. When none is permitted to accumulate riches, all may enjoy wealth and to a degree which now seems incredible. Industrial will follow political democracy, logically and inevitably, when the people "highly resolve" that they will no longer honor or tolerate any leader or expert in industry who refuses to be their servant, subject to their choice, control, and right to compensate, judge and remove.

Slowly the best modern thought is coming back to this central teaching of Christ. Thus, President Glenn Frank told the New England council on November 22, 1935: "While Americans are not ready to scrap an economy of private enterprises, they dimly sense that there are two kinds of capitalism, functional, seeking to produce wealth, and financial, seeking to capture it. They will turn a deaf ear to any leadership that does not wage war against these purely acquisitive operations of financial capitalism." By such a course, he held, we must steer "between the communist left and the fascist right."

The Judicial Veto

By Victor S. Yarros

WHATEVER President Roosevelt chooses to do about it, the judicial veto is certain to become a leading and spirited issue in the American presidential contest. Most of the republicans and 95 per cent of the lawyers, irrespective of their partisan affiliations, are morally certain to emphasize that issue, since all anti-Rooseveltians regard it as very promising and politically safe. It is a well-known fact that many democratic politicians are afraid of it and intend to use the soft pedal in dealing with it—if they find that they cannot ignore it.

Yet the issue is not new in American politics. President Roosevelt's "sixth cousin," the gallant and impetuous Theodore Roosevelt, did not, as the leader and candidate of the progressive, or Bull Moose, party in 1912, hesitate to take the offensive on that question and to advocate, most aggressively, the virtual abolition of the judicial veto. He proposed and stoutly defended a plan of which he was the proud author, and which provided that the electorate should be given an opportunity to override and annul, or recall, any decision of the United States supreme court (and, of course, of any state supreme court) holding an act duly passed by the legislative body and approved by the executive to be contrary to the constitution and therefore void. Some eminent jurists and professors of law heartily endorsed this curious proposal and told Colonel Roosevelt that they wished *they* had hit upon it, as it seemed to them very ingenious and yet practical and moderate enough to win popular endorsement.

Theodore Roosevelt's Proposal

The progressive party has long been dead, and so has the plan in question. The republicans, and especially the liberal republicans, do not care to remind the public of it and do not intend to revive it. But the democrats will be shortsighted and cowardly if they refrain from exploiting that piquant chapter of American history. Colonel Roosevelt is one of the assets and glories of the republican party, and even the reactionary leaders of that party profess to honor and cherish his memory and to follow in his footsteps. If Colonel Roosevelt was ready and anxious to get rid of the judicial veto, surely that idea cannot be *alarmingly* revolutionary and the precise way of rescuing desirable legislation condemned by the supreme courts on constitutional grounds may be discussed candidly, and searchingly, without forfeiting the respect of patriots and decent citizens.

What the democratic orators will do as the campaign progresses, and produces more heat than light, remains to be seen. Meantime, let me soberly and impartially examine the case against the judicial veto. It may, ere long, command universal interest.

As intelligent students are aware, the American courts claim and use the power to kill legislation—usually, of course, progressive legislation—to which

the vested interests, the powerful corporations and the beneficiaries of privilege object for selfish reasons. As a rule, a decision of this character is not unanimous. There is nearly always vigorous, sometimes angry, dissent on the part of some of the justices. This fact alone shows that the constitutional provisions invoked against liberal or progressive legislation are by no means clear, and that judicial prejudices and class sentiments dictate *some,* at least, of the conservative or reactionary decisions.

Jefferson and Jackson

For several decades, union labor and the advanced liberal elements have taken the view of Jefferson and Jackson—that the American judiciary was never clothed with the power to pass upon and invalidate legislation, and that it usurped that dangerous power. But since the day of Chief Justice Marshall who, by plausible and persuasive reasoning, demonstrated to the satisfaction of the bar and bench that the constitution, by necessary implication, conferred upon the independent judiciary the authority to annul what it finds to be unconstitutional legislation, several generations have acquiesced in that view, and it is probably too late to secure its reversal by the United States supreme court itself, or any state supreme court.

There are labor leaders and progressive lawyers who openly favor an amendment to the federal constitution expressly depriving the judiciary of the veto in question. Such an amendment would not be likely to receive, at this time or in the very near future, the approval of the necessary number of states. A defeat of such an amendment would constitute a grave setback for the important principle it embodied. What, then, is to be done to curb the judiciary and remove a formidable obstacle to vital and ripe reform legislation?

The "recall" suggestion of Theodore Roosevelt, to repeat, is dead. It was hardly a sound or sensible one. To provide, by a constitutional amendment, that the voters, through a direct referendum, pass upon the wisdom or correctness of decisions of the highest courts in constitutional cases is to establish a very strange super-supreme court, with the lay citizens as its members. Such a lay court would render its decisions on political, social and economic grounds, not on legal, and no system of law would long survive the chaos that would result from the anomalous arrangement.

The Norris Proposal

A more reasonable suggestion now under discussion, and urged by Senator Norris of Nebraska, is that a constitutional amendment be submitted declaring, in effect, that no law shall be held null and void unless three-fourths of the members of the supreme court so rule. This device would do away with the exceedingly unsatisfactory and embarrassing five-to-four decisions against popular legislation, decisions which carry no moral weight and which expose the conservative majority of the court to severe and bitter criticism. It may be pointed out, in passing, that the new Philippine constitution, which the United States has accepted and approved, contains such a limitation upon the authority of the judiciary of the far eastern archipelago. That may be a significant precedent for the United States, an indication of the trend.

Of course, one way of curbing the judiciary at a given moment and for a specific and temporary object is always open, and that way requires no constitutional amendment. Congress and the executive can "pack the supreme court"—that is, create additional seats on that bench and appoint to such seats men known to be in full sympathy with the administration and the congressional majority. This method however, though apparently easy, would arouse much indignation in various influential quarters. The court would be thrown into partisan and factional politics, and it might become preposterously unwieldy. It is to be remembered, too, that some of the recent anti-new deal decisions of the United States supreme court were unanimous, or well-nigh unanimous. This circumstance has led not a few to drop the idea of liberalizing and socializing the supreme court by the "packing" expedient.

Laying the Ghost of John Marshall

Finally, the embryonic new party lately called into being—and christened the American Commonwealth Political federation, surely an impossible name!—instead of attacking the judicial veto directly, proposes a constitutional amendment "providing that congress shall have power to make all laws that in its judgment will be necesssary to provide for the general welfare." This amendment, plainly, would destroy the judicial veto. It would supersede and replace the distinctly ambiguous clause which, according to John Marshall and his followers, vested in the judiciary the power to annul legislation by reason of its alleged incompatibility with some provision in the constitution.

If the United States supreme court annuls two or three more of the new deal acts of congress which President Roosevelt forced through and which millions of suffering men and women heartily favor, the proposal of the embryonic third party will undoubtedly receive the unqualified approval of organized labor, organized agriculture and many advanced liberals. Liberals have been reaching the conclusion that the American constitution is obsolete in several important features, particularly in its provisions concerning the regulation of interstate commerce.

The founders of the republic could not have foreseen the development of rapid transportation, rapid communication and national and international markets. They dealt with conditions which have been completely revolutionized. They protected state rights and state powers when the states were equal to the relatively simple tasks of regulating such production and commerce as they had. Today the states are powerless as against the trusts, corporations, utilities and investment firms whose markets are nation-wide and whom the federal government alone can control in the public interest. The objectors to federal control know full well that they have little, or nothing, to fear from the attempts at state control. The appeal of big business to state rights is insincere, and deceives few thoughtful

persons. The federal government needs additional power if America is not to become a pseudo-constitutional plutocracy, and the judicial veto as a shield for plutocracy, which it now generally is, must be intelligently subordinated to the national welfare and the dictates of justice.

Religious Drama in the United States

By Fred Eastman

WHERE is religious drama heading? Toward a high art comparable to the great religious tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles? Toward a revival of medieval mystery and morality plays? Toward an imitation of Broadway or Hollywood? Toward propaganda plays for various church boards and good causes? Or toward cheap entertainment? To find the answer to these questions the religious drama department of the Chicago Theological seminary has been making a study during the past three months. I shall present first a brief summary of the major findings, and then an interpretation of them.

To make the survey geographically representative, we selected six typical areas of the United States: New England, Middle Atlantic, Midwest, South, Mountain, and Pacific. In certain states of each of these areas we further selected about 1400 Protestant churches having a membership of two hundred and more. To each of these churches we sent a questionnaire asking:

1. How many religious dramas* were presented during 1935?
2. Who presented them (adults, young people, children, or mixed groups)?
3. When?
4. Why?
5. With what equipment?
6. What plays were presented?

Replies came from 451 churches. Of these 411, or 91 per cent, stated that they had produced a total of 1518 plays during the year, an average of 3.7 plays per church. Only 40 churches reported that they had presented none. (A similar survey in 1930 had disclosed that 75 per cent of the churches were then presenting plays, and the average number had been 3.2 per church.) What groups presented these plays?

Adults presented 37 per cent.
Young people, 25 per cent.
Children, 17 per cent.
Mixed groups, 21 per cent.

When were the plays given?

39 per cent on Sunday evening as part of a service of worship.
16 per cent in the midweek evening service.
16 per cent at missionary meetings.
The rest at various other times. Most of them were given in parish houses; a small proportion in the church auditorium.

Classified by seasons:

50 per cent were given at or near Christmas.
37 per cent near Easter.
6 per cent on Armistice Sunday.

(A considerable difference is noted here from the results of the survey of 1930. At that time only 32 per cent of all the plays were produced at Christmas and Easter.)

*We defined a religious drama as "one that has a religious effect upon an audience; that is, it exalts the spirit, sheds light on spiritual struggles, or challenges the will to right wrong."

Drama As It Now Is

Why did these 411 churches produce dramas? They gave a variety of reasons: 50 per cent checked "for the inspiration of the congregation," 25 per cent "for the education of the players," 20 per cent "to raise money," 5 per cent "for entertainment."

With what equipment did the churches present these 1518 plays? The majority had only a platform with temporary curtains and makeshift lighting equipment. But 170 churches indicated that they now have a permanent stage with proscenium and curtains. Only 91 answered that they had an adequate lighting outfit.

What was the character of the plays presented in American churches in 1935? Twenty-eight per cent were biblical, 47 per cent non-biblical but religious, and 25 per cent non-religious. (In 1930 36 per cent were biblical, 48 per cent non-biblical, and 16 per cent non-religious.) Only one church mentioned a medieval mystery play. Not all the churches gave the names of their plays. But the titles mentioned most often—ten times or more—were: "Why the Chimes Rang," "The Dust of the Road," "The Adoration of the Kings and Shepherds," "The Great Choice," "The Nativity," "The Rock," "The Lost Church," and "The First Commandment." However, these well-known plays represent but a small fraction of the total number presented. The churches named 410 separate titles, not including 70 "originals," 20 "missionary plays," and 30 classified as "light comedies."

So much for the bare facts. Now for their interpretation. The most obvious conclusion is that religious drama in the United States has reached a phase of large quantity. But when one studies the list of plays produced and visits a few of the productions, an equally significant conclusion emerges: most of our religious drama is still of low quality. Unless that quality can be improved, drama in the churches will be scrapped. That will be an irreparable loss both to the churches and to drama. To the churches, because they will lose the aid of a great art; to the drama, because as anyone familiar with its history knows, it has reached its highest usefulness when it has subordinated itself in the service of God.

Why So Much Religious Drama?

1. Because many churches have found that it ministers to a definite need. That need is for an emotional

interpretation of religion in life. Much of the ministry of the church today is to the intellect only. To young men and women emotionally starved in an industrial civilization, drama provides a medium in which they can feel and dream as well as think. Maxwell Anderson, in his introduction to "Winterset," speaks of the starvation of men's souls in this age of science. "Men have not been altered by the invention of airplanes and the radio. They are still alone and frightened. . . . Science may answer a few questions for them, but in the end science itself is obliged to say that the fact is created by the spirit, not spirit by the fact. . . . We shall not always be as we are—but what we are to become depends on what we dream and desire. The drama, more than any other art, has the power to weld and determine what the race dreams into what the race will become." When churches see the drama in that light they use it.

2. Because drama portrays life in concrete terms of characters in action. It doesn't argue about goodness; it walks goodness in on two legs. It doesn't present the struggles of our daily lives academically; it reenacts them before our eyes. Ralph W. Sockman said some time ago: "The man on the street wants a religion which meets him where he is and then has the power to take him where he is not." That is what religious drama at its best does. It interprets and exalts the common emotional experiences of daily life.

3. Because the American people through attendance at theaters have become (forgive the hackneyed phrase) drama-minded. Young adults generally have seen in drama the most powerful medium for expressing themselves and for influencing the public. They have welcomed an opportunity to work in such a medium.

Why the Low Quality?

Not all the religious drama in the United States *is* of low quality. Some of it is high. Perhaps it is making as rapid progress in quality as any other art in conjunction with religion. Certainly a few of the churches studied in this survey have shown discrimination and intelligence in the plays presented during the past year. For example, the Union church of Bay Ridge, New York, produced last year "The Terrible Meek," "Outward Bound," "Lincoln," "The Importance of Being Earnest," "The Coming of the Prince of Peace," "Why the Chimes Rang." But the fact remains that the vast majority present no such picture. To anyone familiar with modern drama the 410 different titles reported by these churches reveal a poor quality of play selection. And anyone who has witnessed as many of these plays as the present writer, knows that their production is usually poor. It has only good intentions to commend it. Why?

1. Because church leaders have little or no vision of what religious drama might be. If any church leader will devote three evenings to reading the plays of Aeschylus or Sophocles, remembering that these immortal tragedies were first produced in the temple as acts of worship, he will have a vision of what great religious drama can be. He will read plays that were developed by the combined encouragements of organized religion and the state—dramas so powerful in their effects on the inner lives of the ancient Greeks that the very name of Athens became synonymous with spiritual sensitivity. That little town of 30,000, largely through its dramatic festivals, developed more great poets than America has yet developed with a population of 125 million. So important did the people deem these dramatic festivals that during them all business was closed, law courts adjourned, and the jails were opened so that the prisoners could come into the temple and receive their ethical stimulus. The poets who wrote the plays and the actors who presented them were considered ministers of religion during the period of the festival. The plays were so vibrant with life and so universal in theme that they have survived twenty-four centuries. That is what religious drama might be. Few American churches yet have any such vision for it.

Cheap Plays; Cheap Results

2. Because instead of any such vision, churches have seen in drama only a means of visualizing their stewardship message, or the needs of their missionary societies, or a new wrinkle in religious education, or "an expressional activity" that promised to keep young people busy.

3. Because the majority of the churches, with such minor goals in mind, have selected only cheap and easy plays. Every teacher of drama, every publisher, is familiar with the plea, "We want something that can be done with only a few rehearsals, something quite simple, and of course without royalty." Is it any wonder that many intelligent people find more to respect in a good movie than in the average religious drama? The Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios worked two years on "Mutiny on the Bounty," taking the most painstaking care to see that every detail of the original ship was faithfully reproduced and the story convincingly told. Yet most churches want to find a religious drama that can be presented with six rehearsals and with little or no expense. Is a religious drama of less importance than one for entertainment only?

Here the objection will be raised, "But we can't afford the better religious dramas. We can't pay the five or ten dollar royalty." This objection must be squarely faced. Take two examples, churches A and B.

Church A says: "Our Sunday evening congregation numbers about one hundred. The offering averages five cents each. That means only five dollars. We are going to present a play to that congregation and we have only the offering to meet our expenses. We must, therefore, keep our expenses within five dollars. Of course we can't pay royalty for a good play." So it chooses a cheap play; cheap usually because it is poor. The congregation numbers the usual one hundred. The offering is just enough to cover the expense of costuming material and makeup. Financially the play breaks even; but the congregation, in spite of its flattering words to the players, is not greatly impressed. Next time it numbers only 75; and then 60; then 50. The players become discouraged, give up, and drift away.

Church B says: "Here is a good play. It is worth

working on. It has a five dollar royalty and we will need ten dollars more for other expenses. That makes fifteen dollars. To raise that amount we must have three hundred people in the church. Do you suppose we can get them? Let's try." And so Church B goes at it. It appoints a business manager. It organizes not only its cast but its audience. It puts as much work on the front side of the footlights as on the back side. As a result it gets an audience of 300 which in turn inspires the players. Inspired players in a good play make the audience want to come again and again. Moreover, Church B arranges for that play to go out on circuit to other churches in the community. It presents the drama five or six times. When it finally balances the accounts, it finds that it has met all expenses, and has a small balance to apply to improved equipment. Better yet, it has an enthusiastic group of players and an audience eagerly looking forward to the production of the next play.

The difference between Church A and Church B is the difference between failure and success in religious drama production.*

4. Because of unskilled directors and inadequate equipment. Not one church drama director in a hundred has had special training for the work. Churches have learned the necessity of having trained choir directors in order to secure good music. Some day they will see the like necessity of having trained drama directors. As for equipment, who knows of a church drama curtain that does not stick at crucial moments? Or of more than one church in ten which is able to light its plays as adequately as the simplest theater? Even the best of acting would be ruined by the average church stage lighting.

5. Because it has lacked intelligent criticism. The drama of Broadway has had the benefit of such sophisticated critics as Brooks Atkinson, Percy Hammond, Burns Mantle, and Robert Benchley. In addition, practically every Broadway play has a try-out in a small city, and after the try-out the author, producer, director, and players hold a clinic in which they rigidly diagnose every weakness the play has shown, and set about to correct it. Church drama groups receive no professional criticism and seldom get together until weeks after their production, unless it be to tell each other how good they are.

The Saving Remnant and the Future

Answering now the questions at the head of this article: Religious drama in the United States is not headed toward a revival of medieval mystery and morality plays, nor toward imitating Broadway and Hollywood. On the other hand, it is not attaining a quality comparable to the great religious dramas of ancient Greece. We have a theme greater than the Greeks had. We have a dramatic story unsurpassed in human history. We have spiritual struggles on the outcome of which the very life of civilization depends. We have characters to portray of a stature that dwarfs the pagan and medieval heroes. But we treat them all partially and trivially. We lack majesty. The bulk of our religious drama still consists of sentimental plays, pious in tone, heavy with propaganda, and weak in the portrayal of character. Yet there is a saving remnant made up of those religious drama groups with high vision, good direction, adequate equipment, and discriminating selection of their plays. They head toward the development of an art which will some day become as indispensable as music in the ministry of religion. In those groups lies the hope of the future.

*A classified list of fifty religious dramas will be sent upon application accompanied by a 3 cent postage stamp to the Chicago Theological seminary, 5757 University avenue. They are mostly one-act plays of from twenty to forty-five minutes, requiring small casts. Inexperienced and unequipped church drama groups should not attempt anything longer.

BOOKS

A Chief Justice in Politics

ROGER B. TANEY. *By Carl Brent Swisher. The Macmillan Company, $5.00.*

ATTORNEY General of the United States, secretary of the treasury, and finally chief justice of the supreme court for twenty-eight years, Roger B. Taney served his country long enough, ably enough and in sufficiently high station to give him prima facie claim to an honorable place in history. Instead, he has been an object of scorn for humanitarian and partisan opponents of slavery, and he has been little admired even by those who were then the defenders of the south's "peculiar institution" or by those who later cherished a romantic and regretful affection for it. He has been condemned to obloquy by the unfailing association of his name with the Dred Scott decision which he wrote and the statement that "the Negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect"—which he never uttered and which grossly caricatured what he did say.

Taney (pronounce it *Taw-ney*) was admitted to the bar in Maryland just as Washington was retiring from the presidency. He was appointed chief justice by Andrew Jackson and served in that capacity until his death in October, 1864. His life thus extended over the entire history of the slavery controversy, and his period of service in the highest judicial office covered the acute period of that controversy. By a curious irony, it was this pro-slavery judge who administered the oath of office to Lincoln at his first inauguration (he said afterward that he would have refused to administer the oath to Seward if Seward had been nominated and elected), and who headed the supreme court during almost the whole of the civil war—an increasingly lonely and incongruous figure as well as an aged and feeble one, for he was eighty-four years old when the war broke out.

Mr. Swisher does not attempt to turn Taney into a hero, but his accurate and dispassionate study reveals the consistency of Taney's thinking, the sincerity of his devotion to what he believed to be the meaning of the constitution and the interests of the country, and his kindly attitude toward Negroes even while he was debarring them from the rights of citizenship. If not a hero, he can no longer be cast as the villain of the piece.

We must pass over the interesting story of Taney's part in

the hot political contests over the United States bank to come at once to the questions of slavery and state rights. In 1831 he was asked, as attorney general, to answer this question: Have states the right to declare (as Massachusetts had declared) that slaves on British colonial vessels under the British flag automatically become free on touching their free soil? Yes, said Taney, states have that right; federal trade treaties cannot infringe upon it. The abolitionists were pleased. And again: Have states the right to imprison free Negroes from foreign vessels during their stay in port and to sell them as slaves unless the masters of the vessels pay for their keep? (South Carolina was doing this.) Yes, said Taney, states have that right too. The slave-holders were pleased. Both were states-rights opinions. The argument in both cases was based on the assumption that "the Negroes themselves had no constitutional right in the matter." This was twenty-five years before the Dred Scott decision.

It is unnecessary to rehearse the familiar facts of the Dred Scott case, upon which Taney's popular fame and obloquy rest. The questions at issue were these: (1) Is a Negro a citizen of the state in which he resides, and can he therefore bring suit in a federal court against a citizen of another state as provided in the constitution? No, decided Taney and the court; he is not and cannot. This really ended the whole matter, for since the case had come to the supreme court on appeal from a circuit court, all that was necessary was to send it back and order it dismissed for lack of jurisdiction. It was in this connection that Taney declared the degradation of the Negro race was such as to incapacitate its members for the status of citizenship, whether slave or free, and that the authors of the constitution had never contemplated Negroes as either actual or potential citizens. Perhaps Taney would have left the matter there if he had not learned that the dissenting judges, Curtis and McLean, were preparing to argue other points. (2) Does a slave become free on being taken to a free state (Illinois), and does he remain free on being taken back to a slave state (Missouri)? The answer was no to the latter question, and so the first is unimportant. Whether Scott was free or not in Illinois, when he went back to Missouri he was under Missouri law, and by that law he was a slave. Here was another good place to stop for judicial but not for political purposes. Scott had also been taken into free federal territory from which slavery had been excluded by the Missouri compromise. The country was torn with dissension about the constitutionality of that compromise. A supreme court decision might settle the issue. So—(3) Does a slave become free by being taken into free federal territory? No, because there is no free federal territory. The Missouri compromise is unconstitutional. The federal government has no power to exclude slavery from a territory.

It was this last point—not sympathy with Dred Scott—that put all the fire into the anti-slavery reaction to Taney's decision. As a matter of fact, Scott was being passed around from one abolitionist owner to another during the whole time that his case was in the courts and was set free as soon as the supreme court had declared him a slave. But the country was on the verge of war over the right of slavery to extend itself to all new states. Taney had freed his own slaves long before, but he believed in the institution and in the constitutional right of every state to maintain it. Constitutional theory, political affiliation and cultural inheritance combined to determine his attitude. He was a southern gentleman, and he was a politician before he was a judge.

There are many other interesting things about Taney. One is that he was a Roman Catholic who married a Protestant with the agreement that all their boys should be trained as Catholics and their girls as Protestants. There was, apparently, no cloud upon the domestic harmony, even when, as it turned out, they had six daughters and only one son, who did not survive boyhood. During the whole period of anti-Catholic agitation and organization, in the twenty-five years before 1860, the United States had a Catholic chief justice.

What kind of judge would Taney be now? Setting aside old prejudices, he might be a pretty good one; perhaps better than John Marshall. Marshall had made the supreme court preeminently the guardian of the sacred rights of property. "All he did," says Mr. Swisher, "was to give persuasive utterance to the prevailing beliefs of the propertied classes of his time, in the terminology of constitutional law." Taney was suspicious of corporations, which he considered necessary but dangerous instrumentalities. But if they had lived until now, perhaps Roger Taney would have changed his mind about the divine right of slave-owners and John Marshall about that of corporations.

W. E. GARRISON.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Instinctive Jump

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Thank you for the great article by Dr. Wieman. It is evident that he himself approaches theology, and I think rightly so, from the naturalistic side. However, I am convinced that theology must issue finally into a supernaturalism. Although theological thinking and reasoning must dwell completely upon the naturalistic plane, this thinking will establish a direction from which the ultimate belief of man instinctively jumps completely across to faith in the supernatural.

This universal tendency to take an ultimate leap of faith to the realm of the supernatural, based perhaps upon the same instinctive tendency as animism, is purposely, artificially, and coldly crushed by a group of thinkers who refuse dogmatically to go beyond naturalism. An example is found in Dr. Willett's "Question Box" in the same issue of The Christian Century, in which he defines God as "the sum total of forces in the universe which cooperate with the highest aspirations of human life." Now, I admit that the field of theological thinking lies within this definition, but faith must go beyond that. Faith in a naturalistic sum total cannot satisfy "the highest aspirations of human life." Mankind is an incurable myth maker, and no religion expresses man's highest aspirations which does not ultimately jump from thought about a naturalistic sum total to faith in a myth concerning the supernatural.

I admit further that Christian theology in the past has erred by trying to make a logical and naturalistic system out of its inherited myths. Such a thing cannot be done, and the attempt to do it has invited the scorn of men with a scientific background. The only field of Christian theology open to reason and logical proof is naturalistic theology. But this theology can never become the basis of a satisfactory religion until it admits that faith must reach beyond these limits and follow the natural human impulse to find its rest out beyond the seen and the proven in the realm of a supernatural where men can explain only by constructing their myths.

Of all contemporary philosophers who approach reality, probably William Pepperell Montague (cf. "Belief Unbound") follows most notably this method of approach. Kant discovered the truth that human thought and knowledge, including theology, must always remain on the level of naturalistic phenomena. But he did not fool himself or strait-jacket his mind into insisting that this shows us ultimate reality. There is an instinctive, un-

provable logic which transcends that which naturalistic thinking shows us and brings us to Kant's realm of the transcendental. About that realm we can only make our myths. And these myths, however crude, are more necessary for religion than mathematical sum totals.

Livingston Baptist Church, Livingston, N. J. EDWIN O. GOLDSWORTHY.

Indianapolis—An Opportunity Lost

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Many of us regretted profoundly the fact that the Student Volunteer convention in Indianapolis last week was set up in such a way as to exclude any endeavor on the part of the student delegates to face the specific, practical issues of modern life. When a group of students, finally weary of the generalities from the platform, did get together to focus their thinking on racial discrimination, the threat of war, and other issues pressing immediately and ominously upon modern civilization, they had to operate entirely outside the regular program of the convention. Then only with difficulty was a semi-official hearing in the convention program given to them to present their findings and recommendations.

Why was the convention program set up with so little opportunity for student expression? If this is unavoidable in convention technique, then convention technique, I suggest, is seriously inadequate for our day. The more alert type of student refuses to sit in the capacity of inert receiver through hour upon hour of platform address, no matter how fine these addresses may be, with no opportunity for creative give and take. Indianapolis was the chance of a lifetime to bring united student Christian thought to bear on the vital issues of our day. Many of us regret that that opportunity was lost.

Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich. ROLLO R. MAY, Director of Men Students.

A Subcriber-Prospect for Somebody

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I feel that I must spend a three cent stamp to congratulate you on your strenuous efforts on behalf of your Hebrew and Marxist friends, and—honestly—I weep with you over the collapse of your patriotic campaign to keep America out of the Olympic games. I agree with you, it may not be good (for you!) to have our fair-minded athletes come in contact with the new Germany as it really is. Isn't it a shame that there are still some clear-thinking and independent people in our country who refuse to be bullied by such publications as the New York Daily News, the Mirror, and The Christian Century!

As a reader of The Christian Century—until my subscription expires—I assure you of my sympathy.

By the way, do you happen to know of a "Christian" paper an unfortunate fellow of German extraction can read without being annoyed and insulted because of his German ancestry? I shall appreciate your suggestions and promise to keep them confidential.

Hoboken, N. J. A. Q. WETTSTEIN.

Negroes in the Methodist Church

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your editorial on "Decisions Confronting the Methodists" you refer to "three decisive questions" in connection with the subject of unification. Of these questions only one seems to me to have any special significance, and it is apparently based on misinformation. It distinguishes "the practice of the northern church," which "has winked at a virtual separation between the races," from the "official scheme for racial segregation" written "into the law of the united church." The assumption here is that "separation between the races" has no place in the "law" of the northern church but is merely a matter of "practice" without "official" recognition. If you will take the pains to read paragraph 503 of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church for 1932 you will see how completely mistaken this assumption is. The annual conference is "the basic body in the church," and in the paragraph mentioned the boundaries of the various annual conferences in the United States are defined. Of nineteen of these conferences it is specifically stated that each one of them "shall include the Negro work" in such and such a territory; and of nine others it is specifically stated that each of them "shall include the work among the *white* people" of such and such a territory. This is a part of "the law" of the church, and if there could be a more explicit legal or "official" prescription of racial separation or segregation I do not know how it would be phrased. Certainly there is nothing on the subject in the proposed plan of unification that is any more explicit. The principle governing the relation of the races to each other in the united church is the same as that which at present obtains in both the practice and the law of the northern church. And the legal conditions under which a change of the present status may be effected are the same in both instances.

These facts not only rule out the first of "the three decisive questions" as misleading; they also deprive the other two of any significance that might otherwise have attached to them, for they also are based on the erroneous assumption above referred to. Neither the younger Negroes in the northern home church nor other racial groups on the foreign field are likely to be disturbed by the plan of unification, when its actual relation to the present official policy of their church is understood—a policy concurred in and apparently favored by the Negro members of the church in general.

Boston University School of Theology, Boston, Mass. ALBERT C. KNUDSON.

Yenching Will Not Move

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: With regard to your editorial, "What Will be the Future of China's Colleges?" I send for your information the following statement from the trustees of Yenching university of Peiping, China:

"Cabled dispatches from China and occasional comments in the American press have referred to the possibility of the removal of Yenching university from its present location in the environs of Peiping because of the disturbing political developments in north China. The trustees of the university have therefore given careful consideration to the problems thus created, and have taken advantage of the recent arrival in this country of President Stuart to consult with him as to all the factors involved. The trustees would point out that the university is the outgrowth of more than 65 years of Christian higher educational work which has gone constantly forward despite all the changes and upheavals that have taken place in China during that period. . . . The Yenching trustees are convinced that the work of the university can be continued no matter what may be the outcome of the present military activities in north China, or what government may obtain in that region. The Chinese people whom Yenching is serving will remain, and the need for Christian higher education would only be increased by conditions which might interfere with the operation of other universities and colleges in that area. The trustees are firm in their determination that Yenching university shall continue to carry on where it is."

New York, N. Y. GEORGE G. BARBER, President, Board of Trustees.

Join the 'United Front'? Yes!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Certainly all of us Christians, who are seeking to be realistic in our endeavor to prevent war and our unjust economic system from further undermining the kingdom of Christ, should be grateful to Allan A. Hunter for his article on "Pacifists and the 'United Front.'" We agree with Mr. Hunter's position on practically every point he makes except his decision about joining the united front. He would avoid it because the communists are in it. We join the united front for the following reasons:

1. Our obvious danger in America is not from a dictatorship

of the proletariat. Not merely Sinclair's book, but immense evidence from recent occurrences show that our danger is a fascist dictatorship.

2. In union there is strength, as a mighty American reminded us. Plenty of evidence could be mustered to show that fascism, called naziism in Germany, came to that country because those opposed to it were so disunited. The house of humanity, which includes many others besides us Christians, cannot stand, if divided, against the encroachment of its terrible enemy, fascism.

3. We can work in so far as our opposition to fascism is concerned with anyone and everyone who is so opposed.

4. The only way to leaven the communists as to their willingness to use violent methods of dictatorship, reinforced by the suspension of democratic rights of free speech, assembly, press, etc., is to work together against the common danger both to Christianity and to democracy that fascism in America presents.

5. To refuse to unite with all seeking a warless world and a classless society would be allowing an academic question to keep us from the next step. Communists much prefer to achieve their goal without violence. They chaff us Christians when we assert it can be done, and when we insist on trying to do it bloodlessly. But that is an academic question. If the time ever comes when we must divide the united front on this question, we separate. Meantime, we can stand with all, even communists, who stand aright; stand with them as long as they are right, but part with them when they go wrong. Almost unconsciously those words of the immortal Lincoln slipped in; but isn't that the real problem that Christians must decide with regard to the united front?

Middletown, N. Y. GEORGE MAYCHIM STOCKDALE.

Light on the Growing Apostasy

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I believe your paper to be antichristian (who is antichrist but he that denies the Father and the Son?) but I read it each week for light on the growing apostasy prophesied in the Holy Scriptures. It confirms me in the divine inspiration of the scriptures which foresee the end from the beginning.

I read that sermon by H. E. Fosdick telling of his lamentable but unavailing struggle against the demon of unbelief. It is the wail of a sinking man. The sum and substance of it is that modern unbelief may have robbed him of God, but they are not going to strip him of the rags of his morality and leave him shivering in the cold of ethical anarchy. In other words, to please the wolves of scientific doubt, he may have jettisoned God and the Bible, but let them beware how they presume too much and try to extort from him those noble ethical principles which he has salvaged from the wreck. Both you and he are drifting on to the abyss of agnosticism. What an exchange! To give up the supernatural redeeming Christ for a demon-inspired negation.

Fairmount Presbyterian Church, GEORGE C. SWEDBURG.
Richmond, Va.

The Levys Are Free!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Mr. Herring admits he has proved nothing in his story "Christian Principles" in the January 1 issue of The Christian Century. However he has stated the case in such a way as to make it quite evident that he wishes his readers to conclude that the Board for the Dissemination, etc., has violated Christian principles in holding its mortgagor strictly to contract in regard to interest payments and taxes. He implies furthermore that the executors of Aaron Levy's estate have acted on an ethically higher plane in lowering interest rates and otherwise accommodating their debtor. Is there anything in the story to make these the only conclusions possible or even probable?

The omissions in the story are as significant as what is included and among these omissions is the fact that the trustees of a religious organization are not handling their own money but other people's. They are responsible to these people and are held by law as well as obvious moral principles to exercise good business judgment in handling the funds of the institution. On the other hand they are responsible for the payment of the salaries of the missionaries or social workers in the employ of the board. Probably most of these workers have no other income than their salaries, not being wealthy enough to buy apartment houses from which they can get unearned income. Thus the board has a double responsibility, on the one hand to the financial supporters of the board and on the other to their salaried workers. It is these people whose interests they are morally obligated to conserve, not those of wealthy real estate speculators whose mistaken judgment may have caused them financial embarrassment.

Is there any evidence on the other hand that Jacob and Isadore Levy (if those be the names of the descendants of Aaron Levy) were motivated by superior ethical ideals in reducing interest rates and looking after taxes for another year? Maybe they considered it good business to carry Mr. Herring along another year, letting him continue to bear the worry and financial loss rather than to foreclose and have an unprofitable bit of real estate come into their hands. Moreover, they are handling an estate in which it is implied they are the main legatees and therefore may properly decide for themselves what risks they may take. Their case is entirely different from that of a trustee board responsible for other people's money.

Just what idea was Mr. Herring trying to present in his little "case study"?

Niagara Falls, N. Y. DWIGHT E. ALLEN.

The Question Box

Is the Bible narrative of the flood generally accredited as history, or is it believed to be a myth? W. B., Port Jervis, N. Y.

THE two Hebrew narratives of a flood, which are woven together in Genesis, chapters 6-9, are manifestly derived from Babylonian traditions of a flood, to which references are made by Berossus, and which is found in the cuneiform account discovered by George Smith in the library of Asshurbanipal in 1872. These accounts, which are accessible to students in many publications, show numerous resemblances to the Hebrew records, and constitute a portion of an extensive Babylonian epic dealing with mythical characters and events. The basis of such stories may have been an actual deluge in the Mesopotamian area, which is known to have been subject to inundations of a catastrophic extent in primitive times.

That there was ever a universal flood since the arrival of human beings upon the earth is outside the range of physical possibility, as proved by the familiar facts of geology. In many parts of the world, such as Greece, Australia, Tibet, India, etc., are found narratives of floods which easily passed into the folklore of the localities as descriptions of cosmic catastrophes. But nothing like a story of a universal deluge is authenticated either by scientific data or by comparative mythology.

Excavations on some prehistoric sites indicate their submergence, leaving strata of soil above the remains of earlier cultures. Such deposits are interesting indications of the overwhelming of cities by floods and inundations which interrupted human activities for considerable periods. But they give no evidence of a universal deluge.

It is probable that in many portions of the earth there have been floods, tidal waves, and other forms of watery destruction, the memory of which in the traditions of survivors might well assume the form of a world catastrophe. Where such events have occurred and such traditions have taken form it is of interest to compare the similar features, as of the character of the visitation, the means of escape, the later adventures of the survivors, and other phases of the story.

This is of particular significance in the comparison of the Hebrew and the Babylonian stories. But such facts lend no support to the theory of a universal deluge.

Will W. A. F. of Hughesville, Pa., send his full mailing address to this department?

H. L. W.

Dictators Lose Their Prestige

Balkan Countries Turning Back to Popular Government—Fascism No Longer the Mode

(Correspondence from Central Europe)

VIENNA, Jan. 1.—In southeast Europe the cause of self-government is advancing. This does not mean that efficient and ordered democracy has been established, but that absolutism is retreating. It has received many staggering blows, and as a theory is badly compromised. A few months ago absolutism, in the form of fascism or Hitlerism, was a triumphant doctrine. Democracy was held up to scorn. It was represented as a helpless old hag who had outlived her day. Great, strong "he men" had taken the affairs of state out of the hands of corrupt, wrangling politicians and were said to be directing them along better paths toward prosperity, harmony, and glory.

Such beliefs, springing from Rome, Berlin and Vienna, swept over the whole of southeast Europe. Everywhere one heard the gospel of the elite, of the self-chosen. Yugoslavia was in the hands of a dictatorial king, and Bulgaria in those of a dictatorial major; Rumania for a while was controlled by a dictatorial professor, Greece by a dictatorial general, and Hungary by a semi-dictatorial count. Now all that has radically changed. General elections on a very democratic basis are to be held in Greece; Bulgaria's arch conspirator is now on trial before a military court; the Yugoslav royal dictator has been assassinated; the democratic forces in Rumania are carrying on a vehement crusade, and in Hungary the Gömbös government makes its appeal to the nation on the basis of democratic reforms.

* * *

Lack of Unity Still Felt

Of course, this by no means signifies that democracy has won a complete triumph, or that the people have fought their way through to effective self-government. The masses are still confused, floundering, and to a large extent frustrated. They have not unified their forces for harmonious, constructive activity. The Marxists, agrarians, democrats and liberals continue to quarrel among themselves. Partisan rivalry is still rampant. Anti-dictatorial groups vehemently oppose one another.

This sad lack of unity is natural, for the masses are always better at overthrowing a common enemy than at effecting positive reforms. They know what they do not want better than what they do want. The workers, peasants, artisans, small intelligentsia and state officials in southeast Europe all know they are against despotism, so they have joined forces against it and are eliminating it. Workers and peasants are not agreed as to what sort of a political and economic order they would like to build up, but they are completely at one in wanting to tear down oligarchies.

They have met with remarkable success, even though not attaining a final triumph. There is no final triumph for democracy. The people, in their efforts at self-government, can do no more than struggle upward along zigzag paths. Democracy is always a compromise among conflicting groups and social forces. And the process whereby such compromises are reached is usually turbulent and noisy. In southeast Europe it is especially stormy. Yet the masses are imposing their will and moving forward.

* * *

Dictators Become Ridiculous

The most hopeful achievement of the masses is that they have completely rejected the doctrines of fascism. The dictatorial theory has been completely discredited in this part of the world. The idea of the omniscience of a self-chosen elite has become ridiculous. Dictators are objects of jest. They are the laughing-stock of southeast Europe. Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany may be sacrosanct, but the little Hitlers and Mussolinis in the other countries seem unspeakably ludicrous. And that, not only because it is intrinsically preposterous for a handful of ambitious mortals to pretend to know more than all their fellows, but because the strong men have egregiously failed. In southeast Europe they have not been able to make any of their claims good. They have increased confusion, intensified partisanship, fostered corruption, and augmented strife.

* * *

Dictatorship Condemned By Its Results

General Kondylis's royal elections in Greece were a classical example of shameless fraud, exceeding anything that the worst political boss has ever perpetrated. In Bulgaria the army set out to destroy disunity and partisanship by suppressing the political parties, and introduced more disunity into the country than it had ever experienced. These military "saviors" gravely damaged practically every sound social institution in the kingdom, and kept the nation constantly on the verge of civil war.

Yugoslavia's royal dictator abolished the constitution, filled the prisons, suppressed all freedom, and imposed absolutism upon his people for the purpose of eliminating regional strife and forcing harmony upon the many racial and religious groups, but he only succeeded in raising racial enmity and hatred to a stage where it threatened to destroy the state.

The dictatorships in this part of the world have all completely failed. And the humble people—the masses—are bringing them to an end. Of course, the road to effective, honest, harmonious self-government is long. Terrible battles will still have to be fought. Much more blood will flow. There will certainly be a temporary return of dictators, here and there. But in spite of everything the people are advancing toward self-government. The despots are beating a retreat. The pendulum has started back toward government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

R. H. MARKHAM.

Youth Meetings Thrill South

Young Methodists Meet in Memphis; Baptists in Birmingham—A Journalist on Lynching

(Correspondence from the Mid-South)

MEMPHIS, Jan. 12.—The group of disillusioned Episcopalians who recently mourned the death of Protestantism, particularly as a force among the youth, should have been in two cities of the mid-south during the holidays. Five thousand young people jammed the municipal auditorium of Memphis for five days to listen to great speeches dealing with the very heart of Christian faith and practice in a time of crisis. Six thousand Baptist young people a day or later began similar meetings in Birmingham, Ala. Most heralded speaker, Kagawa of Japan, proved a disappointment to many because of their inability to follow his broken English. No matter; they saw the man advertised—without his consent, no doubt—as the world's greatest Christian, saw his name in the headlines, saw his picture in more than a dozen poses, and heard, or read the next day, his interpretation of Christianity as not only a way of personal living and believing and worshiping but also as a great social technique of cooperation. He spoke to huge audiences in both Memphis and Birmingham, 9,000 in Memphis, to say nothing of the other thousands who listened in on the radio.

* * *

Senator Nye Uncovers War Threat

Other highlights of the Methodist meetings were the peace speeches of Kirby Page and Senator Nye, Nye particularly dealing telling blows to what he called "the war racket." He made the young see something of the folly of the American naval maneuvers in far Pacific waters last year by asking them to imagine the state of American feelings if the Japanese fleet had staged a demonstration off the California coast. He scored President Roosevelt for his attitude at the time the news was spilled that certain army men were bent upon fortifying the century-long undefended Canadian boundary. The President, instead of punishing the army men, who he said acted without authority, chided the member of the house who caused the leak! Nye's main point was that war is always a possibility so long as it remains a source of profit.

* * *

Mordecai Johnson Moves Youth Convention

Most significant event of both meetings was the morning address on Dec. 31 by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard university, Washington, D. C. Dr. Johnson said that the young Negro no longer felt that the young white man was his enemy because the depression has thrown whites as well as Negroes into un-

employment. The common civilization of both is threatened. The speech was eloquent and convincing, and punctuated with frequent applause. At the end a question went to the stage, "Are you a Negro?" The answer was, "Yes, I am a Negro, a native of Tennessee." This brought loud applause from the huge Tennessee delegation. Another question: "Supposing you were a young man going back to live in one of these little southern towns and wanted to begin practicing Christianity toward the Negro; how would you begin?" Dr. Johnson's answer that the place to begin was by treating all persons regardless of color as human beings was good, but not so significant as the fact that a young white southerner should have asked the question and that five thousand sat breathless during the answer.

* * *

Baptist Young People Also Consider Social Issues

Whether the Baptists were less active in their publicity department, or the Birmingham papers less willing to give their conference much space, the fact remains that while the Memphis papers made the Methodist conference each day the news of the day the Birmingham prints slighted the Baptist conference, even Kagawa. There was less stress on social conditions in the Baptist meetings but the stress was there, nevertheless, showing the great change that has come over even this conservative group. For instance, Rev. Noble Y. Ball, of Atlanta, said that the plight of the Negroes in the south at the present time was a challenge to every living Christian. That Christians failed rather than prohibition was claimed by Rev. John W. Inzer of First Baptist church, Montgomery, Ala. He said the Christians had turned to Caesar, Caesar had passed a law, and then the Christians had sat back and done no more about it. Now the real work of slow education of the individual must be begun anew.

Dr. W. F. Powell, president of the Baptist Sunday school board, started off with a speech about the flag that sounded as though it were going to be a spread eagle eulogy of the Fourth of July type. But before he had finished Dr. Powell had gotten down to such hard facts as the scandal of America spending 82 cents for war to every cent for education, and to pointing out that true patriotism is shown in taking a stand against the evils of divorce, crime, luxurious living, which are eating at the vitals of our national wellbeing.

* * *

Southern Editors Treat South's Social Problems Realistically

Another significant fact pointing to coming changes in the old South is in the appearance recently of the first of a series of syndicated newspaper articles under the heading "Southerners Speak to the South." Everyone who knows anything about the south at all is familiar with the fact that almost anything criticizing our institutions can be killed at once if it can be shown that the source of the criticism is from another section of the country. Thus, Norman Thomas's investigation of the Arkansas sharecroppers was largely nullified in the mid-south by the charge that as a northerner Mr. Thomas knew nothing of the peculiar institutions of the south. The articles in question are to appear in at least 25 southern newspapers.

The first of this series was written by John Temple Graves II, a columnist on the Birmingham Age-Herald, holder of an honorary doctorate from the University of the South (Sewanee) for "distinguished service in the field of journalism," an ex-service man, great-grandson of the brother of John C. Calhoun. He wrote about lynching and drew his material from the letters that reached his editorial desk, letters not for publication, but the real heart to heart kind that call the editor a "yellow livered nigger lover." Graves pointed out that contrary to popular opinion lynching is supported not just by the vicious and ignorant but by educated southerners. He cited one graduate of the University of Virginia whose solution of the race problem was a general massacre! There was the Florida schoolteacher who said that lynching was as much a virtue as was the work of those sturdy confederates who drove out the carpet-baggers and scalawags after the civil war. One Birmingham physician wrote that a certain Negro defendant should be hanged whether guilty or not as it was important to get somebody every time an offense was committed: "Get the right nigger if you can, get his relatives too, but if you can't get the right one, get a nigger anyway." There is surely something new under the sun when a man like Graves can expose things of this sort in 25 leading southern newspapers. Needless to say there are plenty in the south whose attitude toward these lynchings is that of civilized people everywhere.

* * *

Divergent Views of AAA Decision

This part of America is probably going to be most affected by the supreme court decision invalidating the AAA. Yet opinion here differs as in other sections. Farmers meeting in Dyersburg, Tenn., made indignant and fiery speeches denouncing "the nine old men." On the other hand the Tenant Farmers Union spokesmen are rejoicing. It is their claim that the AAA helped the farm owner but spelled tragedy for tenants and sharecroppers. One leader of radical thought in Memphis has stated that he is glad to see the end of "spurious collectivism." There can be no question but that southern agriculture will be much upset unless a satisfactory substitute is found for the AAA.

JOHN CLARENCE PETRIE.

Philippine Methodist Church Reports Progress

The Philippine Methodist church, which was founded in 1933 when a large segment of the Methodist Episcopal church in the islands seceded because Bishop Welch insisted upon enforcing a decree which the island Methodists believed unjust, has made notable progress, according to Rev. Cipriano Navarro, general superintendent. The church now has 102 full-time workers including 60 pastors, 6 American missionaries, 36 deaconesses and Bible women. The new body claims 83 organized churches and a constituency of 20,000. The new church has from its founding been self-governing and self-supporting. Informal discussions have begun between this new body and the United Evangelical group, as well as with other indigenous Protestant groups, looking toward unification of Protestant forces in the islands.

Britain Hails Rise of Eden

Sanctions Will be Supported—Another Contributor to 'Foundations' Is Made a Bishop

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Jan. 1.—The resignation of Sir Samuel Hoare and the appointment of Mr. Eden as foreign secretary belong to the news of the world. The story illustrates the power of public opinion and also the correctness of the peace ballot as a measure of that opinion. General confession was made by Mr. Baldwin for himself and his fellow-ministers. They acknowledged their mistakes, especially their lack of effective cooperation. One or two of them have somewhat coolly declared that if they did make a mistake, there was no other course open to them. To these counter-attacks the first reply must be: "What *would* you have said if a labor government had made such a blunder?" But in the main the government has acted wisely in refusing to sponsor the Laval-Hoare scheme of settlement. We are left, however, with the uncomfortable thought that some of the cabinet members let these proposals drop only because of public opinion; for themselves they would not reject them.

The appointment of Mr. Eden is reassuring. Many of us would have been glad to see him appointed in the summer. Now his appointment is at least a guarantee that the policy of sanctions will not be dropped in favor of an offer such as that which the French government prevailed on Sir Samuel Hoare to accept. For Sir Samuel there is sincere sympathy everywhere, though it still remains a mystery how the statesman who spoke as he did at Geneva could have consented to the Paris plans.

Where does Abyssinia come into this picture?

* * *

The Coal Dilemma

Before Jan. 27 a problem will have to be solved which contains the following factors: The miners must have more wages. The money must be found by increasing profits or, as it is generally agreed, by increasing the price of coal to private and industrial consumers. But my last account for coal tells me that coal is £2-11s-0d a ton; say, nearly $11. Why cannot I be sure that out of this sum the miner will receive a decent wage? If the price is put up to industrial concerns their profits will fall and they will be likely to say that they cannot pay the same wages. The miner will then be given an increase at the expense of other workers!

The mine owners are seeking to discover ways of raising profits so that they can pay more wages, but not on a national scale. The miners say that they can only accept this condition if there is a guarantee that the districts will have fair treatment and for this they suggest a government grant. But the government is cold to such a suggestion.

Without doubt there is need for a reform in selling operations. I cannot see why I should pay 51 shillings a ton out of

which perhaps three and a half shillings or thereabout is paid to the man who hews it from the earth. Somewhere between that man and my fire there is room for economy. But Jan. 27 is nearing and however much we differ we are agreed that this country cannot suffer a coal strike without grave and perhaps irreparable loss.

* * *

The New Bishop Of Derby

About a quarter of a century ago a number of young Oxford theologians issued a collection of essays, entitled "Foundations." It is a valuable study to trace the after-history of these writers, at the time a little suspected by the orthodox. The archbishop of York, Dr. Streeter, Dr. Neville Talbot, Dr. Moberly, Dr. Parsons, Dr. Brook, all won distinction in their church as bishops or heads of colleges or in other high positions. Now Archdeacon Rawlinson, who wrote in that volume on "The Interpretation of the Christ in the New Testament," has been appointed bishop of Derby. He will bring to his episcopal office the name, justly earned, of a great theological scholar. Some years ago he edited a most valuable volume of "Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation." In this he himself wrote upon "Hebraic Theism as Presupposed by the Christian Movement." The new bishop will certainly take a place by general consent among the bishops who can speak with authority upon theological questions and he will be an administrator none the less effective because of his quietness and confidence.

* * *

And So Forth

The bishop of Birmingham, Mr. Lansbury, Rev. Herbert Gray, Dr. Raven, Rev. Leyton Richards, Canon "Dick" Sheppard, Rev. Henry Carter, Donald Soper and John S. Whale have united in a plea for a world conference under the league to deal with the deeper implications of the present dispute. There must be, they believe, a wide extension of the principle of international control and administration of backward areas. The whole world, they say, would profit by a reordering of economic opportunities.

The Lindberghs arrived yesterday. I am speaking what I know most of our people think when I say that we wish such people were shown the true courtesy which allows those who wish for quietness and freedom from publicity to have their desire. There is something repugnant in the treatment which certain papers give to such men as the late Col. T. E. Lawrence and Col. Lindbergh.

The royal commission on arms manufacture and trade will sit in public on Jan. 8, 9 and 10 and on Jan. 22, 23 and 24.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Plan Conference on Church Music

Northwestern university announces its fourth annual conference on church music to be held in Evanston Feb. 11. Among the speakers this year will be John Timothy Stone, George Craig Stewart and E. E. Harper. The evening session will center in a choral festival and an address by Bishop Stewart. Detailed program may be secured from the department of church music, Northwestern university, Evanston, Ill.

Laymen Attack Social Preaching

Southern California Methodists Appeal Against Conference Action—Synagogue Aids Church Philanthropy

(Correspondence from Southern California)

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 10.—Methodist laymen are in revolt in southern California also. Last July the commission on social problems and international relations of the Southern California conference brought in two reports—a majority and a minority—which dealt with the economic trends of the times. The majority report quoted the general conference pronouncement of 1932 at Atlantic City, which declared that "the present order is unchristian, unethical and unsocial, because it is based largely on the profit motive, which is a direct appeal to selfishness." The minority report, not especially well written or carefully organized, was a protest against politico-economic preaching and an appeal for a consideration of the deep spiritual needs of the people in times of distress. In spite of the inadequacy of the formulation of the report, it did represent the convictions of a considerable body of devout and loyal laymen of the denomination. In the conference session the majority report carried with little discussion.

Since that time an important group of laymen have been holding frequent meetings and laying their plans carefully for the presentation of a conference-wide appeal. While it is true that the leaders of the group are the most prominent laymen of the denomination, they are not rich men and women. Now they have issued a lengthy letter to all pastors, official members and other prominent people of the denomination, appealing for a repudiation of the movement toward a "coercive-communal state." The newspapers have taken up the letter and are giving it wide publicity, with the result that the issue is being sharply drawn inside the ranks of Methodism.

Within the southern California conference there is a group of younger preachers, distinctly militant in their advocacy of economic issues, who represent the "liberal" viewpoint. Between these and the laymen the tension has been growing for several years, but this is the first time the laymen have seemed organized for the defense of their viewpoint.

* * *

So This Is Christmas!

Last winter First Methodist church of Los Angeles presented a series of lectures on the Hebrew prophets in connection with their night school of religion by Rabbi Mayer Winkler of the Community synagogue. A little later the official board of that church attended the services of the synagogue on a Friday evening and the following Sunday the members of the synagogue attended the church in a body. At Christmas time the synagogue sent a letter to the church reading somewhat as follows: "At this season of the year the Community synagogue, in grateful appreciation of cordial friendliness existing between them and

Meet the Soul of KAGAWA

The eyes of all American Christendom are focused on this little man from the Orient. He comes preaching a new way of life, a new social order, a more profound conception of Christ's teachings. To understand his message one must first understand the sensitive *soul* of the man.

Kagawa himself reveals his own heart and soul in

SONGS from the SLUMS

a new book which is setting the religious world agog.

Reader Opinions:

"Kagawa has revealed his own soul, his deepest inspiration, his fullest consecration, his source of spiritual power nowhere quite so fully and truly as in SONGS FROM THE SLUMS."—*W. O. Carver.*

"I feel that I have met Kagawa personally, for in this book he revealed his soul to me!"—*Bishop Edwin D. Mouzon.*

"Anyone is poor who has not met Kagawa in SONGS FROM THE SLUMS."—*Bishop Edwin H. Hughes.*

"I have never read anything equal to it!"—*G. Baez Camargo.*

"It is terrific, gruelling, grinding—enough to shake the soul awake."—*Wm. L. Stidger.*

"To know Kagawa's spirit and power one must read SONGS FROM THE SLUMS."—*J. Richard Spann.*

"A poignant, piercing cry of a sensitive soul."—*Bishop Paul B. Kern.*

"SONGS FROM THE SLUMS reveals more of the real Kagawa than any biography could."—*Miss Ina Corinne Brown.*

"I found myself paralleling many of its pictures with scenes from the life of Jesus."—*W. A. Smart.*

"I felt as if Jesus once again was moving earth's lowly and forgotten souls."—*J. R. Thomas.*

"I have not read anything which for sheer spiritual translucence equals this."—*Leslie B. Moss.*

"Will take a front rank place in the literature of the Christian religion."—*R. E. Diffendorfer.*

"I found myself in tears."—*L. F. Sensabaugh.*

"SONGS FROM THE SLUMS helps us to look at our own world through the eyes of Jesus. A book to stir one's heart."—*W. E. J. Gratz.*

"In this book one hears and feels the heart-beat of the St. Francis of Japan. SONGS FROM THE SLUMS reveals the depths of Kagawa's soul more adequately than do his meditations or his biographies."—*Miss Wilmina Rowland.*

"If you want stark realism to stab your social conscience awake; if you want the record of a sensitive spirit reacting to the tragedy of life; if you like sharp, vivid word pictures; if you want to catch the passion of one of the greatest Christians of our time—for all these things and more you will value SONGS FROM THE SLUMS by Toyohiko Kagawa."—*John C. Irwin.*

More than twice as many SONGS FROM THE SLUMS have been purchased at Kagawa meetings than any other book by or about Kagawa.

● *Introduction and biographical sketch by Dr. Sherwood Eddy*

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE $1.00

Cokesbury Press—Nashville

the First Methodist church, desires to express their good will in a tangible form. We are, therefore, preparing —— baskets of food which we would like to send to the homes of some of the members of First church who may be in need at this season." When the baskets were delivered they were found to be generous beyond all expectations. The pastor of First church, in announcing the gifts, broadcast the incident over the radio, with the result that a spirit of good will between the two faiths was engendered which truly represented Christmas.

* * *

Sister Aimee Parades

Angelus temple, with Mrs. MacPherson in personal charge, has just held the 13th annual conference. Several thousands of the adherents of the "Four-Square Gospel" have come to the city, a giant parade was conducted through the streets of the city, and the usual demonstrations occurred at the temple. Regardless of what one may think of the showmanship of Sister Aimee, or the divorce scandals within the pastor's household, one must give sincere credit for the very great humanitarian work done by the church in feeding the hungry and clothing the poor. Not even the Salvation army, with its help from the community chest, does a more worthy piece of work. The "healing miracles," so prominent in the earlier years of Mrs. MacPherson's ministry, have been allowed to fade out of the picture pretty largely of late.

* * *

Junior College Presents Religion

A considerable number of high-grade colleges flourish in southern California, each the center of a considerable community program. Aid granted by the state for adult education is used in a large way by these schools in the presentation of evening lectures. A new venture in this field, however, has been launched by the Chaffee junior college of Ontario, in which the viewpoint of the church in social and economic matters is being pres nted in a series of lectures. "Who Are in Distress and How Does It Affect the Church?" "What Is Pushing Us Toward War?" "What Is Happening to America Youth?" "What Is This Freedom of Ours?" etc., are among the questions discussed. Dr. George A. Coe, Dr. Henry Kendall Booth, Father Lyons of Loyola university and Rabbi Dubin are among the speakers. The spacious auditorium of the college is packed every Tuesday evening. The San Bernardino junior college has just finished a series of lectures on international affairs in which the Arrowhead ministerial council has cooperated by securing the speakers.

* * *

And So Forth

Prof. Harry F. Ward is to appear in southern California for a series of addresses late in January.

The ministerial association is carrying on a vigorous campaign against fake parsons who are preying upon the marriage licenses. A dummy denomination has been "licensing" fortune tellers, making them eligible to conduct wedding services and collect the fees.

Bishop Edwin Hughes is to spend the first part of February in the south in behalf of the Methodist board of temperance.

ROY L. SMITH.

Nazis Again Coerce Church

Drop Conciliatory Policy After Synod Refuses to Accept Herr Kerrl's Nominees—England Wooed

(Correspondence from Germany)

FRANKFURT, Dec. 5. (Delayed.)—The national socialists have not been able to forbear long in the Protestant church struggle. The attitude of conciliation adopted by Herr Hans Kerrl, minister of ecclesiastical affairs, has given way to coercion. The whip has replaced the olive branch. Seeing that the opposition took kindly neither to his state-formed and state-controlled church committees nor to his admixture of Christianity and "racial heresy," he had to fall back upon the old device of weakening, if not crushing out completely, the freedom of action of those who placed their religion first, by issuing an order which makes their actions illegal.

After a conference with Hitler, another with the regional party leaders and a stormy meeting with the oppositional synod, the minister has abandoned all hope of an understanding, and in the interests of "church unity" has decreed that only the committees appointed by himself shall henceforth have the right of administration in the evangelical church. The oppositional organizations, like the synod, the council of brethren, etc., if they attempt any but "purely spiritual" work can be prohibited as illegal, and their members arrested. But such action has not daunted the opposition, as is seen by the fact that two days later it ordained five theological students in defiance of Herr Kerrl's order. And on this occasion—at St. Anne's church in Berlin-Dahlem—Dr. Otto Dibelius preached a powerful sermon on the significant theme of Elijah's sojourn in the wilderness and the 7,000 who had not "bowed the knee to Baal."

* * *

Nazis Hold Catholics in Italy as Example

The nazi press has utilized the nationalist attitude of the Roman Catholic church in Italy to point the moral to the evangelical church at home. Its first duty is not to God but to the fatherland. It must learn that "rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's" means that when the state demands—whatever their innermost convictions may say in the matter—it is to be "freely and cheerfully obeyed." It must know how to use the weapons of nationalism and "heroism" against internationalism and the advocates of humility, forgiveness and "insipid love." Otherwise, how can it play its proper part in training the "wehrhaftige" Germany of tomorrow!

* * *

Nazi Church Committees Are Political

Herr Kerrl's committees, as exemplified in those elected in Hesse and Saxony, are in no way representative of the churches and accept as their basis an admixture of confession and nazi theories of blood and race such as violate the first principles of Christianity. But this does not seem to worry either the minister or the pastors consenting to serve on them. They are all intent upon producing uniformity in the evangelical church for state reasons, and nothing else matters.

The question which naturally arises is, what is the next step? The opposition appears determined to stand firm, so that the nazis, if they really intend to put through their policy, must fall back upon their earlier tactics of enforcing order by secret police and state commissioners. This they unsuccessfully tried through Reichsbishop Ludwig Müller and Dr. August Jaeger nearly two years ago. But they have learned nothing. A few arrests of prominent, outspoken pastors may bring uniformity, but "the more than 7,000 in the wilderness" today consist of Germans who know "in whom they have believed" and will not relinquish their faith!

* * *

Jews Left Without Hope for Future

The position of the Jews in Germany continues to deteriorate. The Nuremberg decrees have now been fully worked out, and though the distinctions between "full-Jews," "half-Jews," and "quarter-Jews" are such that fewer of them will be affected than seemed likely when those decrees were hastily drawn up in September, the future of the Jew in this country appears hopeless. The final decisions as to what is to happen to the German Jew in trade and business are still awaited, but it will only be concern for Germany's economic future, and no other conditions, which will make for any sort of clemency. "Perhaps there will come a change if Germany goes to war," a prominent Frankfurt Jew, well-known for his philanthropy and his strong patriotic feelings, sardonically remarked recently to the writer.

* * *

Berlin Housewives Jeer Hitler

The winter, with its serious economic problems, has given the nazis much food for thought. Unemployment has already begun to rise. It is now nearly 1,900,000 with the prospect of a much more serious rise in the next few weeks. Nowadays it is admitted in public speeches that most of the success with employment during the past two years has been due to extra orders to the heavy industries particularly concerned with rearmament. Germany will now have to slow down the pace, especially as it has not the foreign exchange with which to buy the necessary raw materials. The shortage of butter and of certain other fats continues and it is reported from Berlin (not in the newspapers, of course), that the police have interfered in more than one butter queue, where housewives have ironically broken out into cries of "Heil Hitler" to ease their feelings. But the army and the new recruits, it is understood, are getting better fed than ever before. No butter shortage exists in barracks!

* * *

Germany Woos England

Germany appears to have decided that its foreign policy must at all costs be based upon understanding with England and if possible with France also. Neutrality, dictated as much by financial as by diplomatic considerations, continues to be the policy

towards the League of Nations' sanctions, but it is obvious that, unless something unexpected happens during the next few weeks, Italy has nothing to offer the third reich since all the duce's bravado has produced no military triumphs and will leave his country financially bankrupt when the Abyssinian catastrophe ends.

It is this desire for England's friendship which sent 10,000 Germans over to London to see a football match between Germany and England, and which keeps the government-controlled press pitched to a tone of loftiest praise of all that England does. It is amazing how the democracy, freedom of expression and parliamentary fairplay of that country, which are written down as qualities of weak humanitarianism here in Germany, are thought of as something separate from that country, which need not be taken into consideration when seeking England's favors. But perhaps the fundamental fact is so obvious to the nazi that he does not stop to think further—all he wants is a free hand towards Russia and the east!

A. S. EKER.

Ministers' Week Program

Arthur E. Morgan to Deliver Alden-Tuthill Lectures at Chicago Seminary

Ministers' week, which is conducted each year under the joint auspices of the Divinity school of the University of Chicago and the Chicago Theological seminary, will hold its session this year Feb. 3-7. The program affords five days of lectures, discussion, music and drama, including addresses by Dean Charles W. Gilkey and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison. At the morning sessions eight short courses will be presented, as follows: Worship, by President Palmer; New Testament, Professor Robinson; Theology, Professor McGiffert; Biographies, Professor Eastman; Church and Youth, Professor Alderton; Church history, Professors Pauck and Spinka; Church music, Professor Smith; Preaching missions, various pastors. Chapel addresses will be given by Dean Case and Professors Goodspeed, Baker and Sweet.

Each afternoon will be held a forum on social action. The Alden-Tuthill lectures will be delivered by Dr. Arthur E. Morgan of the TVA, on "Character in Government and Business."

Ministers' week is open to ministers, their wives, and other religious leaders. Detailed program and full information may be secured by addressing Chicago Theological seminary, 5757 University Ave., or the Divinity school, University of Chicago.

Raise Large Fund for Palestine Rebuilding

A campaign to raise $2,500,000 for rebuilding activities in Palestine and for the settlement of Jews there has been inaugurated by the United Palestine Appeal, which represents all organized forces in America for Palestine reconstruction.

New Jewish Weekly Published In Los Angeles

The Jewish Community Press, a new magazine published in Los Angeles, made its first appearance Jan. 10. It is expected that this will be the largest publication of its kind west of New York.

Pastoral Care Builds Church

Dr. Milliron, Pittsburgh Minister, Honored by Congregation—Dr. Buttrick to Preach During Week of Prayer

(Correspondence from Pittsburgh)

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 10.—Dr. Norman C. Milliron completed 13 years of service as pastor of the First Evangelical church, Center avenue and Graham street, on Dec. 1. This Sunday had been set aside as "Recognition day" and for it a "Recognition book" had been prepared in which each member of the church had been asked to write an appreciation of the pastor. The day was stormy, with the first heavy snowstorm of the year, yet auditorium and Sunday school room were thronged. Dr. Milliron has done a unique piece of work. It has been characterized by quiet, constant friendliness. Surrounded by magnificent religion institutions, he has built up a solid membership by what may be called "spade work." He has been content to be a devoted pastor caring for those who were sick and in trouble, in season and out. He has been a quiet, consistent, biblical preacher who has always avoided anything pertaining to the sensational. His reward is a compact, devoted membership which taxes the capacity of his beautiful church. Of late years Dr. Milliron has allowed himself to take part in certain outside activities, among them service as vice-president of the Pittsburgh council of churches, president of the Western Pennsylvania Sabbath association and chairman of the executive committee in charge of Carnegie Hall community service. Never, however, has he permitted outside interests to keep him from his primary business of caring for the members of his own congregation.

* * *

Throngs Flock to Hear Boy Soprano

The aristocratic Church of the Ascension was crowded at its evening service on Jan. 5 when Dewi Jones, Welsh boy soprano, made his first appearance in Pittsburgh. Dr. H. Boyd Edwards, the rector, says that 920 people came out to hear this lad sing, and he hails him as "the finest boy soprano in the world." Dewi Jones was brought to this country under the direction of Mr. Derck Inman, who makes it his business to carry back and forth between the churches of England and America the best choristers. Last year he brought 12 choristers from the London Choir school. They sang only in Episcopal churches of the east and middle west, accepting only the free will offering of the churches. Next summer he plans to take 12 American choir boys and tour with them the English cathedrals.

* * *

Church Celebrates 65th Anniversary

The Bellevue Presbyterian church continues to prosper under the leadership of Dr. Herbert Hudnut, who is a descendent of the famous Beecher family. On Jan. 19, this church celebrates its 65th anniversary. Dr. John McDowell, secretary of the board of national missions of the Presby-

COKESBURY
GOOD BOOKS

We Face Calvary—and Life

By G. RAY JORDAN

IN THESE SERMONS Dr. Jordan demonstrates his gifts of reaching people who have made up their minds that religion is unnecessary and others, church members in "good standing," who give little thought to the teachings and precepts of Christ in their workaday world. Quite appropriately the first sermon is on *The Way of Christ:* a way of living that involves all of one's life—talents, thinking, actions. The Christian way is the first imperative of any follower of Jesus.

In another sermon is shown that Jesus never makes discipleship easy. "Foxes have holes and birds of the air their nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head," Jesus said to those who would follow after Him. Yet, as Dr. Jordan cites instance after instance, one is made aware of the fact that through the centuries thousands upon thousands of men and women after ordered their ways after Jesus' way and given their all, frequently their lives, cheerfully and in their right senses.

These sermons are distinctive contributions to the application of the Christian way to contemporary life and its problems.

$1

How to Use the Bible

By JOHN W. COUTTS

Until now nothing like this has been attempted so succinctly nor accomplished so well. The author, a prominent British clergyman active in the affairs of the Student Christian Movement, guides the reader to an effective use of the Bible. The seven chapters:

I, Why Should We Read the Bible? II, God's Ways of Speaking to Us. III, How God Speaks Through "Events." IV, How God Speaks Through Inspired Men. V, How God Speaks Through His Son: The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ. VI, How God Speaks Through Lives Inspired by the Living Christ. VII, How God Speaks Through "Picture Writings" in a Time of Trouble.

A book rich in suggestivness; highly suitable for personal and group study.

50 cents

Songs from the Slums

By TOYOHIKO KAGAWA

The ever-increasing sale of this little volume (published less than two months ago) is clearly due, as readers everywhere remark, to the intimate, revealing picture it gives of KAGAWA and "the passion of one of the greatest Christians of our time." The introduction and biographical sketch are by *Sherwood Eddy.*

$1

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE

Cokesbury Press—Nashville

terian church and ex-moderator of the general assembly, will be the speaker at a church banquet on Thursday, Jan. 23. On Jan. 26, Dr. Riley M. Little, will be the guest preacher on anniversary Sunday.

* * *

Buttrick to Preach During Week of Prayer

The Y.M.C.A. and the Federated church council of Pittsburgh are celebrating the week of prayer by bringing to Pittsburgh Dr. George Buttrick, minister of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian church of New York. The meetings which he will address in Pittsburgh are: Daily at noon, Monday through Friday, Trinity cathedral; Tuesday evening, Knoxville Methodist Protestant church; Wednesday evening, East Liberty Presbyterian church; Thursday evening, Bellevue Methodist Episcopal church; Friday evening, Lawrenceville Presbyterian church.

JOHN RAY EWERS.

SAFEGUARD PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL

BANK credit deflected from production of goods and employment of labor by recurrently inflating ground rent and heavy taxation.—Credit thus piles up abnormally.—Interest rates fall and credit goes into stock speculation.—Real issue today is productive capitalism *vs.* finance capitalism.—Can be dealt with only by transferring taxation from industry and improvements to ground values.—No exploitation of labor by capital in absence of ground monopoly.

Minneapolis Tribune: "A sensible suggestion at a time when big business and small business as well is crying for relief from heavy taxation . . . Seems to fit the picture of what industry needs today."

A new book by **LOUIS WALLIS**, author of *God and the Social Process*.

75 cents, *bookstores or*

DOUBLEDAY, DORAN & CO.

Garden City, Long Island, N. Y.

League Against War

Religious Section Holds Lively Session at Third Congress in Cleveland

A little known section of the American League against war and fascism is the one concerned with religion. In the third congress of the league, held in Cleveland, this section, under the direction of Rev. Herman F. Reissig of Brooklyn, held a colorful meeting. The principal address was given by Prof. Charles W. Webber of Union seminary. He declared that there is a decided increase in fascism in this country, the government having furthered its growth, consciously or unconsciously, by its legislation promoting and protecting business profits while the living standards of the masses sink lower and lower. He criticized the militaristic features of the CCC. Rabbi Brickner of Cleveland threw a bombshell into the conference by demanding that it reveal whether or not the league against war is essentially communistic.

A findings committee under the chairmanship of Rev. Neil Crawford brought in a report which, as finally adopted, included (1) a protest against the Tydings-McCormick bill; (2) a resolution urging religious leaders to mass youth in protest against R.O.T.C. training in schools and colleges; (3) a statement that the American flag is a symbol of freedom and should not be used as a basis of tyranny in the persecution of religious objectors who refuse to salute it; (4) a resolution requesting a change in the naturalization laws so that the oath to bear arms in case of war shall not be required.

S. V. Convention Stresses Dogma

Underlying Doctrines of Christian Faith Pressed Home to Student Delegates —Three Thousand Present

(Special Correspondence)

INDIANAPOLIS, Jan. 8.—It would be impossible to give a resumé of all the addresses at the convention of the Student Volunteer movement. The final session closed on New Year's day evening after five days filled with addresses, seminars, college and seminary breakfasts, luncheons, dinners and gatherings, private interviews, international teas, denominational gatherings, and the like. Approximately 3,000 delegates attended. The official number of delegates registered was 2,765, from 45 states and 458 colleges. Delegates came from Canada, from Mexico, and from many other countries. Eighty-eight missionaries attended, as did 69 mission board secretaries. The largest single delegation came from the University of Toronto, with 90. Pennsylvania had 37 colleges represented, while Illinois as a state sent the largest delegation, about 300. There were 103 foreign students present.

The presence of world personalities gave the convention an ecumenical air that placed the cause of Christ in a large setting. The freshness of Christianity as it operates in new countries caused Hoosiers to see it in all its novel power and efficacy. Hoosiers remarked that this group of youth was of a higher caliber than the average "collegiate" group, who, they felt, could be trusted with the future far better than some adults and parents. Editorials in the daily press made much of the fact that the youth of the convention are "thoughtful" and, while not minimizing the realities of the present situation, nevertheless would not give way to minority radicals whose enthusiasm is not tempered with religious or political depth.

Popular Seminars

Platform addresses were positive. Missionaries gave fine presentations of what is happening in other lands. The seminars, of which there were 28, were presented on every phase of the Christian mission. Those dealing with the uniqueness of Jesus, the church and current political trends, and the adequacy of the faith for human needs, had to be divided because of the student demand. All seminars contained about 100 delegates. Of course, students had their choices.

The presence of colored delegates in some restaurants was unusual, condoned "because of the convention." The need for a Christian world community resounded in nearly every address. The general sobriety of students was marked, as compared with those of other conventions. Many students spent much time in prayer, in serious "bull sessions," in quiet conversation.

Of course there were some criticisms. It was to be expected. Many residents and delegates felt as if the details of the program were kept too secret. Being a hotel-centered convention, many of the students, who did not stay in city homes, came in contact with some sordid New Year gaiety.

Complete Hymn-Book Equipment for the Modern Church

PRAISE AND SERVICE. Edited by H. Augustine Smith. An inspiring and singable church hymnal "imbued with a worshipful spirit." Contains 450 hymns and tunes, responsive readings, orders of worship, and other materials. "If there is a better hymnal for our American churches this reviewer is not acquainted with it."—*Yale Divinity News*. $100.00 a hundred.

THE NEW HYMNAL FOR AMERICAN YOUTH. Edited by H. Augustine Smith. This is perhaps the best-known hymnal for the Senior and Intermediate Departments of the Church School. Dr. John Finley Williamson, President, Westminster Choir School, Princeton, N. J., says: "It is a great book and it will mean much to our students to have contact with it." $85.00 a hundred.

THE HYMNAL FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. Edited by Caroline Bird Parker and G. Darlington Richards. A beautiful new hymnal made especially for the Junior and Primary Departments of the Church School. Rev. Charles P. MacGregor, Chairman New Hampshire Council of Religious Education, says: "I think it is better than any other hymn-book I have seen for boys and girls." $80.00 a hundred.

For further information and sample copies, address

D. APPLETON-CENTURY COMPANY

CHURCH MUSIC DEPARTMENT

34 West 33rd St. :: New York, N. Y.

Some felt as if the programs were a bit too long and too heavy. They wearied the poor undergraduate who is not hardened to take too much thought in large doses! Some of the students felt as if things were "handed down" to them. And with the meager intelligence of students today about the fundamentals of Christian faith, it was a question whether addresses went over, under, or by the heads of the students.

In the minds of many, the whole question of the nature, future outlook and objective of the movement needs to be seriously rethought. Is the convention integrated into the churches as it should be? Is the convention in need of broader and wider support? Is its function to evangelize, educate or recruit students? Is the modern student more in need of a personal faith? Is he able to see missions as the inner compulsion of the gospel itself? Is it true that many Indianapolis church folks asked what the convention really was trying to do.

Outstanding Speakers

But the convention was well balanced. The realism of Reinhold Niebuhr tore the mask off the present world, in spite of its pretense to be righteous. The solid, substantial theological structure of the archbishop of York helped many of the students to get a firm rationale for their faith. The archbishop was all that an English theological student should be: a man of common sense and yet of Christian idealism. Dr. T. Z. Koo's Chinese mind is to be admired. He had keenness of interpretation as he described why China distrusts Christianity. It is because Confucius said that God was too remote, so men must rather cultivate the human virtues of a disciplined life, and love for the natural things. Christianity's supra-temporal demands are, therefore, alien to the Chinese mind.

Dr. Kagawa's quiet strength, his deep joy in the love of Christ, his indomitable spirit in spite of difficulties, his fine sense of Christian graciousness, his ready humor and his enthusiastic faith were a benediction. Among the many things he said, one was that Japan was taught militarism by western nations, and that 99 per cent of Japanese intellectuals are not militaristic. Christ has brought many things to Japan, and the orient is hungry for his love.

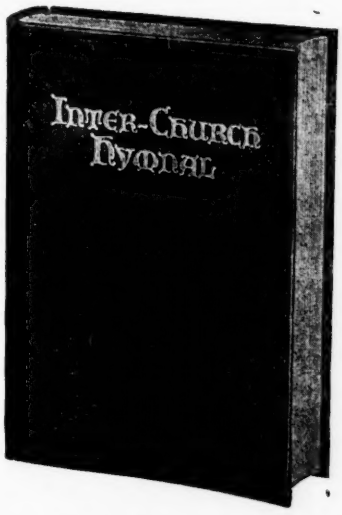
John R. Mott and Robert E. Speer looked like two venerable saints and hoary heroes as they climaxed the convention on New Year's eve. The former spoke of the need for recruits in still needy places, while the latter spoke touchingly of the achievements of the past 50 years, all fulfilled by those who worked at small beginnings. Both have not missed a single quadrennial, but expressed doubt as to attending another. But both were radiant with hope as they pointed to a still untried but hopeful future.

Final Impressions

Dr. Richard Roberts, moderator of the United Church of Canada, led the devotionals every morning, and Dr. George Stewart of Stamford, Conn., presided at most of the meetings. A convention play was given, and afternoons were given over to musicals, while mission movies entertained those who arrived early in the evening. A New Year's eve party and program were conducted.

It would be difficult to evaluate which was the best address. Besides, the conven-

WIDELY ADOPTED

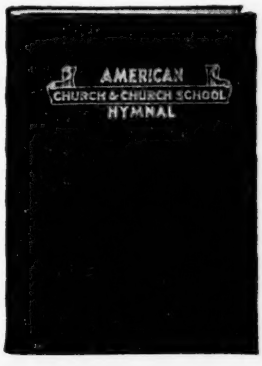


By Leading Churches of All Denominations

YOU will rank Inter-Church Hymnal and the Church School Hymnals described below as truly great books. Buy no new hymnals until you have seen and examined them. Send coupon today for returnable samples.

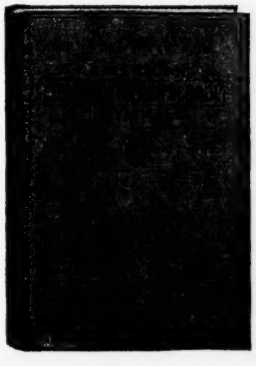
The Inter-Church Hymnal attains a new level of value—spiritually, musically, mechanically. Tarnish-proof lacquered binding keeps gold stamping bright, preserves original fresh appearance and prevents premature wear. "We selected Inter-Church Hymnal from ten samples," writes New Jersey Baptist Church. 528 pages, 479 hymns. 96 page "Aids-to-Worship" section edited by Albert W. Palmer, D. D. Beautifully bound, title gold embossed. Price only $75 per 100, not prepaid. Single copies $1.00 postpaid.

OVER 10,000 churches, pastors and choir leaders, as well as 650 members of the American Guild of Organists, cooperated in selecting the hymns and tunes of the "Inter-Church Hymnal." The only hymn book ever compiled that embodies the musical choice of pastor, choir and congregation, and that represents the wide range found in churches of various denominations.



American Church and Church School Hymnal

A notable aid to worship in the church school of today. Pedagogically it bridges the gap between church and school and helps to hold the interest of adolescents. Liturgically it contains a practical and inspiring series of services with responsive Scripture readings, prayers, benedictions, calls to worship, etc. Musically it presents the words and music of hymns old and new that meet all requirements. The hymns are thematically arranged and fully indexed. A series of masterpiece art studies with description and teaching material for each picture is a popular feature. Bound in rich, seal brown cloth, title gold embossed. Price only $55 per 100, not prepaid. Single copy, 70c postpaid. Fully orchestrated.



American Junior Church School Hymnal

Compiled by Edward B. Bartlett, D.D., and Dean R. G. McCutchan. Its wide use proves its great contribution to the spiritual life of Junior Departments. Contains many songs to which Junior leaders never before have had access. Service programs, orders of worship, dramatic presentations including dialogue and poems, are enriching features. A series of full page art studies together with description and teaching material are included. Says one user, "This hymnal should be in the Junior Department of every church in America." Now only $40 per 100, not prepaid. A reduction of 33⅓%. Single copies, 50c postpaid.

Biglow-Main-Excell Co.
5723-AC West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.

MAIL COUPON

Get sample copies; compare these books with any. Then only can you be sure that you are buying the best value. Check coupon for Budget-Saving Plans for the purchase of hymn books. Used successfully by more than 2,000 churches.

BIGLOW-MAIN-EXCELL CO.,
5723-AC West Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

Please send me sample(s) of book(s) checked below:
☐ Inter-Church Hymnal
☐ American Junior Church School Hymnal ☐ American Church and Church School Hymnal
☐ Folder of Budget Saving Plans

Name .....Official Title .....
Address .....
Church and Denomination.....
Pastor .....Expect to Buy (date).....

tion itself made a total impression such that no one address overshadowed all others. Every phase of the Christian mission was touched upon, and it is highly probable that a student carried with him a total impression of the world scope of his faith, as well as the fact that being a missionary of some kind is involved in his very Christian faith. There may be changes in the personnel of the volunteer movement, and its purpose may be rethought, but it expresses in itself the persistent expulsive power of the gospel which makes men want to share with the world what all men really need.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN.

Plan Observance of Child Labor Day

Following a custom of more than a quarter-century, the National child labor committee has designated the last weekend in January—Jan. 25-27—as Child Labor day. Seven states now have laws prohibiting the employment of children under 16 in manufacturing, but it is held that a nation-wide regulation of child labor must be secured to solve the problem. This is attainable as soon as twelve more states ratify the pending child labor amendment giving congress the power to enact a federal child labor law. Twenty-four states have already ratified; eight others hold regular legislative sessions this year at which favorable action may be taken. Suggestions for the observance of Child Labor day may be secured by addressing the National Child Labor committee, 419 Fourth Ave., New York.

20,000 Workers Oft WPA Payroll

Private Jobs and Relief Unable To Absorb Unemployed—Garment Workers to Strike

(Correspondence from New York

NEW YORK, Jan. 13.—The relief situation, presenting a tense drama, has been in the headlines for a long time. Last week it was the ERB and now it is the WPA that has shocked the public into attention. It all began when the democratic borough president, Mr. James J. Lyons, demanded that 7,000 relief workers be dismissed and that voting residents of New York be employed wherever possible. Next came an announcement from Victor F. Ridder, WPA administrator, to the effect that the 240,000 workers now under his direction be reduced to 220,000, the original New York quota. Mr. Ridder also announced that seven workers had been dismissed on account of their refusal to take the constitution loyalty oath and that hundreds of others would meet a similar fate or be demoted to less remunerative jobs, unless they take the oath by Jan. 15. Finally there leaked out the information that neither private industry nor the emergency relief bureau could care for more than a mere fraction of those threatened with dismissal: the former because there simply were no jobs, and the latter because it was facing the possibility of a reduction of $500,000 per month for its already inadequate services.

* * *

Official Announcements Not Reassuring

In the wake of these disturbances came two official announcements designed to calm the public mind for the time being. The first came from Washington, suggesting that WPA workers would not be expected to accept outside jobs unless they were full time jobs and pay standard wages. It was also stated that such jobs should not disturb any existing union relationships and that, in the event of dismissal from these jobs, the workers would be taken back by the WPA.

The other "reassuring statement" was to the effect that the dropping of thousands of employes was merely part of a vast reconstruction program within the ERB and that the city would establish a permanent department of social welfare. The unemployed, it stated, would still be taken care of within the limitations of available funds and any discriminations because of race, creed or labor activities could be appealed to an "impartial hearings board."

Victims of hunger and unemployment know, however, that these statements mean precisely what other and similar statements have meant: endless delays, going in circles from one place to another, and stark uncertainty from day to day. Such is the present situation, and one can safely predict that it will not be any better next week.

* * *

Ladies Garment Workers Threaten to Strike

The labor conflict in this city now centers in the demands of 105,000 members of the International garment workers union (ILGWU) that their present working agreement with their employers be renewed by Jan. 31. The latter are holding back in the hope of getting more advantageous conditions for themselves. Julius Hochman, general manager of the joint board of the dressmakers' union, declares that the "ills of the present system" arose from the jobber-contractor system running wild." He added that "two decades in the industry have shown me that our employers never seem able to solve their problems without forcing us into a strike." The machinery for a strike has been perfected in a series of meetings. In the meantime the ILGWU has been assured that 10,000 members of the bookkeepers, stenographers and accountants union number 12,646 will join them if they are forced into a strike.

* * *

Conference on Unemployment Suggests Relief Program

Deeply disturbed over the relief crisis and the many skirmishes on the labor front more than 100 delegates, representing 500,000 members of various trade unions, unemployed groups, settlement houses, church, civic and cultural organizations, met in the historic Union Methodist church, "99 steps from Broadway," and united on a fivefold program for the solution of the problem of unemployment. They recommend: 1. A maximum 30 hour week with no reduction in pay. 2. Ratification of the child labor amendment. 3. Pensions for all over 65 years of age. 4. A large scale public works program. 5. A plan for adequate unemployment insurance.

The conference also demanded a check-up on standards of relief, the abolition of the sales tax, the continuance of federal funds

A New Idea . . . A Biblical Novel from the Standpoint of "Higher Criticism"

BY THE WATERS OF BABYLON

By LOUIS WALLIS

THE tale goes back to a time when the temple at Jerusalem housed a pantheon which included the male and female deities, Baal and Ashtar. The temple provided safety deposit vaults for the wealthy exploiters of the people, and served as headquarters of the red-light district, with rooms for professional prostitutes of Ashtar.—The story turns around the relations between the wealthy noble house of Shaphan in Jerusalem and a poor family in a south Judean village near the wilderness.—The scribes of the house of Shaphan in the capital are secretly preparing a "great book" (ultimately to become the Bible), which is begun in Palestine under the inspiration of radical prophets, such as Jeremiah, but finished in exile under priestly influence *"by the waters of Babylon."*

From the late Prof. J. M. Powis Smith, the University of Chicago: "I congratulate the author upon the creative imagination that the book displays, and upon the closeness of its description of Palestinian life in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. to historical reality."

Commended by leading scholars and clergymen

$2.00 at all bookstores—add 15c by mail

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY :: NEW YORK

for direct and work relief projects, the right of organization and collective bargaining for WPA workers and the establishment of a permanent works program. Among the speakers at this conference were Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein of the Free synagogue; Dr. Harry W. Laidler of the L.I.D., and Mrs. Mary K. Simkovitch, well known in metropolitan social service activities.

* * *

Hungarian Rabbi Seeks Relief

Dr. Ferenc Hevesi, leading rabbi of Budapest, is in New York at the invitation of the American relief committee for Hungarian sufferers, seeking help for his stricken countrymen. This young rabbi is the head of a congregation of 64,000 dues-paying members, and, although still in his early forties, is the founder of the Jewish free university in Budapest, and superintendent of the institute for Jewish mothers.

* * *

"University in Exile" Here to Stay

About two years ago Dr. Alvin Johnson, of the New School for social research, invited a group of distinguished Jewish scholars, whom Hitler had driven out of Germany, to organize themselves into a graduate faculty of political and social science. The experiment succeeded beyond all expectations and the trustees of the New School have now launched a plan to establish this "University in Exile" on a permanent basis.

* * *

What Do Preachers Preach About?

The metropolitan press did not, to my knowledge, carry any important quotation of a pulpit reference to either the relief crisis or the labor war now threatening the city, but three quotations with reference to other subjects are hereby recorded: Charging the American Legion with "political gangsterism," Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, militant rector of Grace church (Episcopal) again criticized the bonus bill and said that the legion had "repudiated the unselfish ideals by which the veterans' organizations were originally alleged to have been inspired."

"A study of recently printed salaries almost makes one a communist or a socialist," says Dr. Christian Reisner of the Broadway temple (Methodist). "Such a policy is bound to feed unrest and create discord, if not open revolution. No one should have such exclusive privileges while milions barely eke out an existence."

Rabbi Louis I. Newman deplored the action of the supreme court in overthrowing the President's relief program which resulted in lower living standards and wages for the masses. Said he: "The masses are in no mood to be thrust lower in the economic scale."

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

Pittsburgh Church Celebrates Reduction of Debt

East End Christian church, Pittsburgh, of which Dr. John Ray Ewers is pastor, has reduced its debt by $47,000 and celebrated with a "Victory dinner" on Jan. 15, at which Dean High Moor of Trinity Episcopal cathedral spoke on "A Vision of the Modern Church." The church debt now stands at $86,000. An additional gift of $13,000 for debt reduction has already been offered. Dr. Ewers is in the 27th year of his pastorate at the East End church. Since his coming, in 1909, the congregation has erected its present $460,000 edifice, and has received 2,552 new members. The church has been practicing "open membership" for a number of years. Dr. Ewers has been asked by the congregation to remain as pastor until he is 65.

$5,000 Scholarship for Best Peace Letter

Eddie Cantor, famous radio figure, announces that he will award a four-year scholarship and maintenance at any American college or university to the person who writes the best letter on the subject, "How can America stay out of war?" Cantor has set aside a fund of $5,000 for this purpose. The subject of the competition was suggested by Newton D. Baker, former secretary of war. The judging body includes Robert M. Hutchins, Ray Lyman Wilbur, H. N. MacCracken and Frederick B. Robinson. The competition will close Feb 22. Full details may be secured by addressing Eddie Cantor, Box 99, New York city.

Race Relations Sunday, February 9

The fourteenth annual observance of Race Relations Sunday is scheduled for Feb. 9, anounces George E. Haynes, of the Federal council's department of race relations. A special message has been written by E. McNeill Poteat, jr., president of the southern commission on interracial cooperation, and this is included in the litera-

1 EVERY YEAR 1 OUT OF 7

OF OUR INSURED RISKS IS DISABLED

They need Casualty protection.

Don't you need it too?

You need life insurance, though death comes only once.

You need fire insurance though fires come rarely if ever.

But disabilities arising from sickness or accident come without warning to all occasionally and to many frequently.

Our Casualty policies provide the most sound protection per dollar of cost. This is not "sales talk" but it is a *proven fact*.

For full particulars mail in the coupon or drop us a card—no obligation; no agent.

THE MINISTERS LIFE AND CASUALTY UNION
Organized 1900
16th floor, Wesley Temple Minneapolis, Minn.

Please send me information concerning your Casualty protection as announced in the January 22 issue of "Christian Century."

Name.....

Address.....

P. O......*State*.....

Date of Birth.....*Denomination*.....
Month Day Year

Life, Accident and Sick Benefit Insurance at Bottom Cost for Clergymen Only

1-36

MEDITATIONS ON THE CROSS

By Toyohiko Kagawa

Rousing America and Canada like some new Peter the Hermit preaching a crusade for the capture of the City of God, Kagawa will be the most discussed Christian leader in the world during the next six months. Everywhere men will be asking, "What is the secret of this man's power? What has driven him to his apostleship in Japan's slums? What has made him the champion of a Gospel for the Lowly? What has he to preach that makes his coming an event everywhere in East and West?" Better than any other book which he has written, this latest volume of Kagawa's to be translated into English reveals the answers to all such questions. At the same time it sheds a flood of light on the central fact in Christian thought.

$1.50

Willett, Clark & Company
Chicago :: New York

ture which the Federal council (105 E. 22nd St., New York) is supplying churches and allied organizations.

Moorestown, N. J. Young People Promote Political Survey

The second annual survey of political opinion has just been completed in Moorestown, N. J., by a group of 40 volunteer young people of the community, representing most of the churches and 20 schools and colleges. Ballots were distributed to all Moorestown voters, and collected the following day. A study of the collected ballots indicates that, instead of the majority in favor of reduction of armaments as last year, Moorestown voted in favor of continuing the present million dollar appropriation for the army and navy. However, the voters favored cooperation with the League of Nations by a slim majority. By a more decisive margin, the vote favored strict neutrality, freedom of speech and voluntary military training. On the question of unemployment, Moorestown voted against a constitutional amendment giving the federal government power to regulate industry, but favored more government slum clearance and low cost housing through work projects, also direct relief by the government if necessary. There was a large vote in favor of increasing government control and ownership of public utilities and natural resources. David S. Richie, of the Moorestown project, writes that he would be glad to aid other communities in promoting similar surveys.

California Youth in Peace Demonstration

At a peace meeting held in November on the campus of the University of Redlands, in California, the young people of the university and of the city passed the following resolutions: "Recognizing that war and the religion of Jesus are incompatible we feel that youth can take three positive steps in the face of the war peril: (1) It can go on informing itself and the nation of the basic, hidden causes of war and work for an economic system that will not need war for its perpetuation. (2) It can make its anti-war feeling united and strong by organizing national youth groups into an effective peace machine. (3) It can surprise the militarists at their own game and employ color and marching feet, slogans and banners, for the cause of a warless world." A singing a capella choir in uniform led the young people from the meeting into the union forum of the churches of Redlands where Dr. W. O. Mendenhall, president of Whittier college, spoke.

Mourn Passing of Dr. Sneath

Dr. E. Hershey Sneath, for 34 years a member of the Yale university faculty and a pioneer in the field of religious education, died at his home in New Haven on Dec. 20 at 78 years of age. Dr. Sneath was the editor of some 65 books on religious education. He was appointed to the Yale faculty in 1889 as lecturer in the history of philosophy, and ten years later was made a professor. Subsequently he was professor of the theory and practice of education, and in 1912 he was appointed professor of the philosophy of religion and religious education. He retired from active teaching in 1923.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Bride Comes Home

(Colbert, McMurray, Young) (Para) Tawdry stuff, with feeble dialogue and stale humor, about hero and heroine that fight loud and long, but are in love, and wrangling ends in burlesque marriage ceremony. Fine example of bad taste in theme and good cast wasted.

For A: Cheap. For Y: Undesirable. For C: No.

Captain Blood

(Errol Flynn, Olivia de Haviland) (Warner) Gripping sea-melodrama of 17th century England, packed with fights, grim cruelties, and a thrilling romance. Flynn notable as dauntless hero who is doctor, slave pirate, and finally governor. Strong, vibrant, convincing picture.

For A: Excellent. For Y: Fine thriller. For C: Too strong.

Magnificent Obsession

(Irene Dunne, Robert Taylor) (Univ.) Brazen, disagreeable wastrel makes gruesome start for what develops into a powerful, appealing romance and deep love and devotion. Splendidly played. Drunken egocentric of start is a bit too crass to become so noble, but finely enough done to convince.

For A: Notable. For Y: Mature. For C: Beyond them.

Miss Pacific Fleet

(Blondell and Farrell) (Warner) Fast, rowdy farce about efforts of two slangy, stranded chorus girls to raise fare back to Broadway. Abounds in wisecracks and uncouth comedy antics, with beauty contest, preposterous prizefight, and wild speed boat chase as features.

For A: Silly. For Y: Poor. For C: No.

Nevada

(Buster Crabbe, Kathleen Burke) (Para) Hero, suspect because of his rather shady

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY BUSINESS OFFICE

Acquaintance Subscription Coupon

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY,
440 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago:

Kindly enter a NEW subscription, starting immediately, at the special acquaintance rate of

SEVENTEEN ISSUES FOR $1.00

for which you will find enclosed the.....

for (Name)_____

(Street & No.)_____

(Town & State)_____

record, finally wins ranch-owners' confidence, saves them from cattle-rustlers and wins the girl. Usual shooting, hard riding and fine scenery. Harmless thriller with very ordinary acting.

For A: Mediocre. For Y: Fair. For C: Fair.

Personal Maid's Secret

(Ruth Donnelly, Anita Louise) (Warner) Deft, breezy character comedy, pleasantly entertaining, smoothly told and acted. Old theme—mother surrenders daughter to wealthy home "for her good"—but reveals herself to give danger signal. Girl is playing around casually with married man.

For A: Rather good. For Y: Not the best. For C: No.

Sweet Surrender

(Frank Parker, Tamara) (Univ.) Meaningless conglomeration of radio broadcasting, transatlantic voyage on Normandie, mistaken identity, fostered and further complicated by pair of crooks, peace propaganda, and Paris wind-up. Parker in usual voice, but all the acting far below par.

For A: Waste of time. For Y: Poor. For C: No.

$1000 a Minute

(Roger Pryor, Leila Hyams) (Republic) Meant to be fast, hilarious farce-comedy but too artificial in plot, crude in comedy, clumsy in narrative, uneven in interest, jerky in tempo, improvable in situation, and too feebly acted to be worth much to anybody.

For A: Mediocre. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Best Recent Films for Family:

In Old Kentucky	The Littlest Rebel
Three Musketeers	Scrooge
Annie Oakley	I Dream Too Much

Films of Special Interest for Adults:

Transatlantic Tunnel	Sylvia Scarlett
Alias Bulldog Drummond	Man Who Broke the Bank
Marie Chapdelaine	Whipsaw

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Exile, by Pearl S. Buck. John Day, $2.50.

The Hoover Administration, a Documented Narrative, by William Starr Myers and Walter H. Newton. Scribners, $3.50.

Out of the Night, a Biologist's View of the Future, by H. J. Muller. Vanguard, $1.50.

What God means to Me, an Attempt at a Working Religion, by Upton Sinclair. Farrar & Rinehart, $1.00.

The Cross, by Edwin C. Munson. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., $1.00.

O Men of God, by Bernard Iddings Bell. Longmans, $1.00.

This Our Pilgrimage, Thoughts on the Christian Life, by Peter Green. Longmans, $1.10.

Religion in Life, a Book for Lent, by various authors. Foreword by the Bishop of London. Longmans, $1.40.

The Psychology of Dealing with People, by Wendell White. Macmillan, $2.50.

Black Thunder, by Arna Bontemps . Macmillan, $2.50.

Drift, a Story of Old Ukraine, by G. G. Wenzlaff. The Grindal Publishers, Los Angeles, $2.00.

If With All Your Hearts, by Louise Platt Hauck. Penn Publishing Co., Philadelphia, $2.00.

Religion and the Church Tomorrow, edited by Fred B. Wyand. Cokesbury, $2.00.

Sermon Hearts from the Psalms, compiled by William H. Leach. Cokesbury, $2.00.

The Way, the Truth and the Life, by Henry M. Edmonds. Cokesbury, $1.50.

Why Do Men Suffer? by Leslie D. Weatherhead. Abingdon, $1.25.

Rome from Within, by Selden P. Delany. Bruce Pub. Co., Milwaukee, $2.00.

The Peace Calendar, compiled by Lowell Harris Coate. Gift Book Publishers, Los Angeles, 50 cents.

Hill Wind, Letters and Poems of Charles Kittredge Abbe, edited by George Abbe. Association Press, $1.75.

The Church Against the World

By H. Richard Niebuhr, Wilhelm Pauck, Francis Miller

(A Religious Book Club Selection)

■ This book presents an analysis of three problems confronting present-day Protestantism.

Professor Pauck opens with a chapter on "The Crisis in Religion." He examines humanism, modernism, Barthianism and Buchmanism; in none of these does he find a solution; the church awaits a prophet who will speak in the name of the living God.

In the second chapter, Dr. Miller deals with "American Protestantism and the Christian Faith." He points out that the various national groups of Protestantism have identified themselves with their national cultures and this nationalism represents largely a denial of the Christian faith. He presents for them a "common frame of reference."

In his chapter "Toward the Independence of the Church" Professor Niebuhr asserts that the modern church is in bondage to capitalism, nationalism and humanism. There is a growing revolt against this situation. His conclusion is that the church must stand alone against the world, but to do this it must have a theology in which loyalty to God is dominant.

Charles S. Macfarland in the Reformed Church Messenger: "I find myself heartened by all such serious, earnest efforts to arouse the church to a deep sense of the amplitude of its task and the preeminence of its place in the life of mankind, as conceived by Jesus."

M. Russell Boynton in the Chicago Theological Seminary Register: "The significance of this book is found in its emphasis upon the fact that the muddled mind is an even greater danger to the church than the perverted will. It is a challenge to Protestantism to replace emotionalism by an intellectually respectable realism."

($2.00)

WILLETT, CLARK & COMPANY

CHICAGO **NEW YORK**

VIGOROUS!

INTERESTING!

UP-TO-THE-MINUTE

Interdenominational! Many Hundreds of Presbyterian Congregational Baptist Methodist classes use it —15 denominations in all

The 20th Century Quarterly

(Thomas Curtis Clark, *Editor*)

It makes a study of the Bible itself, treating the International lessons in fresh, interesting fashion.

It teaches Bible truth as the key to the solution of the perplexing problems of TODAY.

It aims especially to inculcate Christian ideals and grow character in modern young people.

Write for Free Sample Copy NOW!

THE 20th CENTURY QUARTERLY, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago

The Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Cooperative Movement in America

FRESH FURROW

By Burris Jenkins

A DRAMATIC story of people working their way out of an economic jam under new principles.

Leaders in the Cooperative Movement endorse it as a stirring presentation, factually accurate, of the greatest economic movement now sweeping the world.

The book was written after two years of intensive study of the Cooperative Movement as it is developing in America.

HERE IS THE GIST OF THE STORY

DENNIS BURNS returns from the State Agricultural College to find his father on the point of eviction, by foreclosure, from the Missouri farm which three generations of the Burns family have owned and cultivated out of wilderness. Denny thinks he sees a way out. In college he has heard something about "cooperation" and now determines to give this new technique a fair trial. While an elder brother works the farm as a tenant of the bank, Denny begins his experiment on a most modest scale—an egg-selling cooperative.

Undeterred by the banker's efforts to lure him into private employment; undeterred also by the criticisms of some of his young and more radical friends—who crave direct action against the existing system—Denny gradually extends the circle of those farmers who are willing to "cooperate." He organizes a store; establishes oil and gas cooperatives. Before long we find him as an executive of the movement, with headquarters in the city.

Suddenly the movement is involved in national issues. The call has come from Washington for the drafting of a code to regulate oil companies. To Denny Burns is entrusted the responsibility of saving the day—not only for the oil but for all cooperative organizations. How he does this is not only dramatically told but the telling is an inside story of what actually happened in Washington when the oil code was under consideration—giving an inkling of the sort of opposition the cooperative movement must be prepared to face as it expands.

Living, Breathing Characters

FRESH FURROW does not read like a tract or a propaganda novel—for the simple reason that it does not advocate any theory but describes, concretely, dramatically, actual lives and deeds. Not only are its characters living, breathing people—with love and romance in their lives as well as economic struggle—but Denny's achievements parallel very closely those of one of America's outstanding cooperative leaders. And these characters are set in their natural and beautiful background: the Missouri farming country, sun-drenched, fertile, an inspiration to poets as well as to farmers. Indeed, "Fresh Furrow" is a hymn to Missouri earth and landscape as well as an exciting and dramatic chronicle. ($2.00)

NOW FOR SALE AT ALL BOOKSTORES

WILLETT, CLARK & COMPANY

440 South Dearborn St., Chicago 200 Fifth Avenue, New York

LIBRARY
MICHIGAN STATE NORMAL
COLLEGE

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
A Journal of Religion

IN TWO PARTS—PART TWO

THREE CULTURES

Human Relations Among Protestants, Catholics and Jews

15 Cents a Copy • January 22, 1936 • Four Dollars a Year

What America Means

IN A BOOK entitled "What Does America Mean," Alexander Meiklejohn declares: "Our deepest tragedy lies in the fact that our current institutions, our current beliefs, our current practices, fail to give recognition to old ideals which are still the essential and fundamental cravings of the American spirit. . . . The truth is not that old ideals have disappeared, that they have lost their claim upon us. . . . Underneath all the superficialities and externalities of our thinking and practice, the demand that men shall live together on equal terms, that they shall be friends to one another, still dominates us. . . . It is that cleavage, that contradiction within ourselves, that has brought us into such bewilderment and self-condemnation. And the way of escape from this tragedy lies not in the framing of new ideals for a new world, but in the bringing of that new world under the control of principles which have always been, and so far as one can see, always will be the primary spiritual forces in the life of the American people—the principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice."

It is the purpose of this supplement of The Christian Century to remind us afresh of some of these principles and of how early they were proclaimed and built into the structure of our national history by those whom we call the founders of the republic; to designate some of the situations in which they are needed today, and to suggest some of the ways in which they may be put into practice.

These principles have been definitely discredited and discarded in some parts of the contemporary world and they are elsewhere doubted or called into question. These are critical times for the democratic spirit. Even in our own country there are not lacking subversive influences that threaten the ideals which we have become accustomed to regard as the richest treasures of the American tradition. It is apparent that they are not to be taken for granted, and that for their preservation they who believe in them must practice that "eternal vigilance" which is their price.

Of civil and religious liberty, with the rights and privileges that are associated with them, no single group in our citizenship is the peculiar guardian, nor are they the gift of any single strain in our population. Protestant, Catholic and Jew have contributed to their establishment and each has been found, since the beginning of our history, among their champions. Today they are the cherished possession of all and in their perpetuation all have an equal stake.

In the observance of Brotherhood day on the Saturday and Sunday nearest to Washington's birthday and in all the other educational projects in which it engages, it is the purpose of The National Conference of Jews and Christians to encourage the three major religious groups that constitute America to cooperate without any compromise of their distinctive principles in the tasks that belong to them as citizens of a common country. Only through such cooperation can come understanding and friendship. Among the enterprises in which they can engage together, none could be more congenial to the best tradition of each or of more common concern than that of the maintenance of those liberties of person and belief which the fathers proclaimed and which are of the very essence of democracy as America has conceived it.

'Who's Who' Among the Contributors

BERNARD C. CLAUSEN is minister of the First Baptist church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN is rabbi of Temple B'rith Kodesh, Rochester, N. Y.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES is Seth Low professor of history at Columbia university, and an internationally renowned authority, particularly in the field of modern history.

JAMES V. THOMPSON is director of the college of religious education and missions at Drew university, Madison, N. J.

J. ELLIOT ROSS has been a lecturer on Catholic doctrine on several foundations at American colleges, and is at present at Charlottesville, Va. Among his recent books is a distinguished biography of Cardinal Newman.

ABRAHAM CRONBACH is professor of social studies at Hebrew Union college, Cincinnati, and the author of "Religion and Its Social Setting," and other books.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER is managing editor of the Commonweal, New York city, and is author of "The Catholic Spirit in America" and many other books.

PETER GUILDAY is a monsignor in the Roman Catholic church, and professor of church history in the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

JAMES ERNST is the author of a new biography of Roger Williams.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK has been said to be the most widely quoted American poet. His most recent volume of poetry is entitled "Home Roads and Far Horizons." Mr. Clark is a member of the staff of The Christian Century.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY
An Undenominational Journal of Religion
VOLUME LIII CHICAGO, JANUARY 22, 1936 NUMBER 4

A Liberty Catechism for America

1. *To what central principle is our country dedicated?*

JOHN ADAMS: "It was this great struggle for human liberty that peopled America. It was not religion alone as is commonly supposed; but it was a love of universal liberty. . . . Be it remembered that liberty must at all hazards be supported. We have a right to it, derived from our Maker. But if we have not, our fathers have earned and bought it for us, at the expense of their ease, their estates, their pleasure, and their blood."

2. *What liberty may citizens rightfully look to their government to provide?*

THOMAS JEFFERSON: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."—*From the Declaration of Independence.*

3. *Is dictatorship compatible with free institutions?*

JOHN ADAMS: "It is a maxim that in every government there must exist somewhere a supreme, sovereign, absolute, and uncontrollable power; but this power resides always in the body of the people; and it never was, or can be, delegated to one man or a few; the great Creator having never given to men a right to vest others with authority over them unlimited either in duration or degree."

4. *Does fascism have anything to offer America?*

PATRICK HENRY: "You ought to inquire how your liberties can be secured, for liberty ought to be the direct end of our government. . . . Is it necessary for your liberty that you should abandon those rights?"

5. *Shall we surrender liberty in the interest of "nationalism"?*

PATRICK HENRY: "The rights of conscience, trial by jury, liberty of the press, all your immunities and franchises: (these are) your liberties, the greatest of earthly blessings. Give us that precious jewel (liberty) and you may take everything else. . . . Guard with zealous attention the public liberty. Suspect everyone who approaches that jewel."

6. *Are freedom of conscience and civil liberty a threat to social order?*

THOMAS JEFFERSON: "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; . . . freedom of religion; freedom of the press; and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries, impartially selected; these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith—the text of civil instructions—the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust."—*Presidential Inauguration Address.*

7. *How far may a government go in granting civil liberty?*

THOMAS JEFFERSON: "It is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order."—*Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty.*

8. *Is religious liberty to be granted or withheld at will?*

GEORGE WASHINGTON: "As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government."—*To the Roman Catholics in the United States.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON: "All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives

to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."—*To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport.*

9. *Does the constitution guarantee the rights of conscience?*

GEORGE WASHINGTON: "If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the constitution framed in the convention, where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and, if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution."—*To the Baptist church in Virginia.*

CHARLES CARROLL: "When I signed the Declaration of Independence, I had in view not only our independence from England but the toleration of all sects . . . and communicating to them all full rights. Happily this wise and salutary measure has taken place for eradicating religious feuds and persecutions and become a useful lesson to all governments."—*To George Washington Parke Custis.*

10. *Can complete religious liberty be granted without endangering the political sovereignty of the state?*

ROGER WILLIAMS: "There goes many a ship to sea with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks may be embarked in one ship; upon which proposal I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges—that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks be forced to come to ship's prayer or worship nor compelled from their own particular prayer or worship, if they practice any. I further add that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, also command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practiced both among the seamen and all the passengers."

11. *Should religious tests be applied for political office?*

GEORGE WASHINGTON: "In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest offices that are known in the United States."—*To the members of the New Church in Baltimore.*

VIRGINIA STATUTE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: "Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworth the public confidence by laying upon him an incapaci of being called to offices of trust and emolument, u less he profess or renounce this or that religious opi ion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges an advantages to which in common with his fellow ci zens he has a natural right."

12. *How widely should religious liberty be extended*

THOMAS JEFFERSON: "Where the preamble declare that coercion is a departure from the plan of the hol author of our religion, an amendment was propose by inserting the words 'Jesus Christ,' so that it shoul read, 'a departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, th holy author of our religion'; the insertion was rejecte by a great majority, in proof that they meant to com prehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Je and the Gentile, the Christian and Mohometan, th Hindoo and Infidel of every denomination."—*Of th Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty.*

13. *Can religion survive without liberty of conscience*

WILLIAM PENN: "I ever understood an impartia liberty of conscience to be the natural right of all men and that he that had a religion without it, his religio was none of his own. For what is not the religion o a man's choice, is the religion of him that imposes it so that liberty of conscience is the first step to have religion."

Disagreement Without Bigotry

By Bernard C. Clausen

IN 1662, when George Fox found his way to Ne port, Rhode Island, for the yearly meeting of th Friends, he was promptly challenged to debate b Roger Williams on fourteen points which Willia outlined. Having issued the challenge, Williams pa dled by canoe in the swiftest possible way to Newport hoping to arrive before the yearly meeting had a journed, but discovered to his disappointment that Fo had already gone. So he urged the selection of thr other Friends, and for three days in Newport and o additional day in Providence—the whole debate bei moved bodily from Newport to Providence by canoe they proceeded to debate these fourteen points, in th hottest kind of free-minded controversy over wh seemed to them to be fundamental convictions, yet a the while maintaining their determination to live t gether as neighbors in that little community. Indee after the debate was all over, the contestants issu pamphlets. Williams entitled his pamphlet, "Geor Fox Digged Out of His Burrows"; and the pamph representing Fox' point of view was entitled, "A N England Firebrand Quenched." Wholesome human r lations do not necessitate watering down one's con tions.

Contributions of Religion to American Liberties

By Philip S. Bernstein

I AM the son of immigrants. My parents fled from a hell of persecution in eastern Europe and found here, if not heaven, more of peace, freedom and opportunity than they dreamed existed on earth. Their appreciation of America has been transmitted to me and it has been deepened by my own experience in European lands in the years since the war.

I have been interested in exploring the sources of this tradition. I have been particularly interested in its religious roots. What contributions did the religions make to the American ideal, the American way of life? I have found answers to this question and here present them, not as an expert, but as one recently come upon them and newly made aware of their importance for America.

The fundamental factors in the development of American ideals were the nature and the motives of the people who early settled here. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of widespread religious persecution in Europe. The increasing influence of Protestantism intensified the bitterness between the Christian churches, and everywhere minorities were cruelly persecuted. When the new world was opened up for colonization, it was natural that these unhappy people should consider it a haven of refuge and an opportunity for a free religious life. They brought their love of freedom to this land, and not only wrote it into the laws of the nation when it was founded, but wove it into the very fabric of the nation's life.

The Roger Williams Tradition

An impressive figure in the early struggle for religious freedom in America was the Baptist, Roger Williams. Even before coming to this land, he had displayed his courage and his broad-mindedness by leading an effort to permit the Jews to return to England. When later, himself in quest of freedom, he settled in Massachusetts, he found an intolerance that stifled his free spirit. With a little band of five he migrated to Rhode Island. There on the foundation of his principles of religious toleration he established the settlement he called "Providence." These principles were first that "persecution for cause of conscience is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus." Therefore, "no one should be bound to worship or maintain a worship against his own consent." From these stemmed his main principle—the separation of church and state, and its corollary, that civil authorities must not interfere in matters of conscience. These principles eventually became the law of the land and made it in truth a "sweet land of liberty."

Although it is true that the Puritans did persecute nonconformists like Williams and Anne Hutchinson, they made very significant contributions to American ideals. First and foremost, I think, was the Puritan character. This has been much maligned by the moderns for its inhibitions, repressions, complexes. Nevertheless, I feel that a strong sense of right and wrong, a stern sense of duty were indispensable to the character and spiritual welfare of a pioneering people, and these were abundantly provided by the Puritans. They were opposed to the idea of an established religion and founded independent autonomous churches all over New England. Thus they accustomed the American mind to think in terms of religious diversity and independence, and they prepared the way for a concept of cultural pluralism without which a decent peaceful life among the heterogeneous groups that make up America would be impossible.

The Puritan Heritage

The Puritans were responsible for the first college in this country, Harvard, in 1636. In fact, most of the great historic universities of America were established by religious bodies for religious purposes. For example, Yale, also by the Puritans; Kings college (now Columbia) and William and Mary by the Anglicans; Princeton by the Presbyterians; Brown by the Baptists; Rutgers by the Dutch Reformed; and colleges like Dartmouth that were nonsectarian were founded for missionary purposes.

Similarly religion was responsible for the establishment of primary school education in the colonies. The dissenting Protestant sects in Europe, constantly on the defensive because of their insistence on the right to independent opinion, found it necessary to instruct the children in their views and to prepare them to defend these views against attacks from the established religions. The elementary education which they maintained for this purpose was later transplanted to America and became the foundation for the system of universal public education which finally was adopted. As early as 1642 an act was passed in Massachusetts requiring qualified elders in each town to supervise the education of the children and "to take account especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion." Believing as I do that the American public school system is the bulwark of our democracy, this contribution of religion seems of paramount importance.

Religion and the Revolution

The economic causes of the American revolution have recently received a new emphasis, and rightly so. It is healthy for Americans to know that the Founding Fathers were not demigods, but were human and were animated by the same motives as their descendents. Incidentally, one reason why I like the Old Testament

is that its characters are quite human, displaying the same weaknesses, faced by the same temptations and problems as I. Their triumphs of character and spirituality are so helpful to me because they seem humanly attainable, even by me. I think American children will be helped to better citizenship through knowing that the revolution was not solely a high-minded, idealistic, altruistic phenomenon, but that selfish economic motives then as now obtained in human affairs and that these can be directed or sublimated to higher ends.

When the Sermon Was Influential

On the other hand, wisdom requires that we make no fetish of the materialistic interpretation of American history. Man is not merely an economic animal. He is sustained and affected not only by food and the desire for gain, but also by ideas and ideals. Any explanation of the American revolution that does not give an important place to the religious influences is incomplete.

Religion was vitally important in those days. With few exceptions men believed in the word of God. The churches were well attended, especially in periods of stress. Two-thirds of the books and pamphlets published in the first half of the eighteenth century dealt with religious subjects. There were few newspapers and their influence was insignificant. The sermon, however, was tremendously influential, was widely discussed throughout the week and was probably the chief instrument of adult education in early America. It is true that some of the preachers were criticized for "three-mile prayers and half-mile graces." But they did touch the hearts of men with a love of liberty and with a hatred for ecclesiastical and political tyranny.

Most of these clergymen intensely disliked the established Church of England. They regarded it as the prostituted servant of a tyrannical ruler. They resented its interference with the spiritual life of the colonies. They protested (how human!) against its attempt to divert fees for weddings, etc., from the dissenting clergy to its own representatives. Their hatred of the Church of England led them to feel that church establishment was evil, and true as they believed their own religions to be, they preferred God in freedom. Influenced profoundly through the Puritans by the thinking of Milton, Locke, Sydney and Hoadly, they provided the intellectual justification as well as the spiritual urge for freedom.

"Obligation to the Ministry"

The various acts of British oppression were roundly denounced in pulpits from north to south and resistance to tyranny was held consistent with God's purpose. John Adams called the clergy "jealous friends of liberty," and the first provincial congress of Massachusetts acknowledged "with profound gratitude the public obligation to the ministry as friends of civil and religious liberty." Rev. Charles Turner in his election sermon in 1773 declared that religious and civil liberties are inseparable. "It is the minister's duty," he said, "to interfere where the liberties of the land are assailed. Religious liberty is so blended with civil that if one falls, it is not expected that the other will continue."

Some of the clergy used the churches to enlist men in the struggle for freedom. "Peter the Devil" Muhlenberg was pastor of a German church in the Shenandoah valley. In January 1776 he preached on the text from Ecclesiastes: "A time of war, and a time of peace." At the conclusion of his sermon, he declared, "There is a time to fight, and the time is here." He whipped off his clerical robe and stepped forth in a colonel's uniform. Three hundred men of his congregation immediately came forward and enlisted under him. Without question many of the clergy were fierce lovers of liberty and planted its seeds in the hearts of their followers.

"Rebellion Is Obedience to God"

Although the revolutionaries derived many of their ideas from European liberals, a careful reading of their utterances reveals the profound influence and inspiration of the Old Testament. Biblical parallels were presented for every revolutionary measure. Samuel's rejection of monarchy was the text for hundreds of sermons. The form of democratic theocracy which prevailed during the period of the Judges was held up as the example for the colonies to follow. Samuel Langdon, president of Harvard college, said in his election sermon on May 31, 1775: "The Jewish government, according to the original constitution, which was divinely established, if considered merely in a civil view, was a perfect republic." After denouncing from biblical testimony the theory of divine right of kings, he concluded: "The civil polity of Israel is doubtless an excellent general model." By special vote of the Massachusetts legislature, the sermon was ordered printed and sent to every clergyman and to every member of congress.

President Ezra Stiles of Yale devoted a similar sermon, which he preached before the general assembly of Connecticut in the presence of Governor Trumbull, to proving that the American colonies were the culmination of the ideal of popular government in Israel and were the fulfilment of biblical prophecy.

The influence of the Old Testament is revealed not only in the biblical injunction engraved on the Liberty bell, "And ye shall proclaim freedom unto the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof," but also in the seal selected for the United States on the very day of the Declaration of Independence by a committee consisting of Franklin, Adams and Jefferson. The design represented the Egyptians drowning in the Red sea, while Moses was leading the Israelites to freedom. The motto on it read: "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

The influence of the Old Testament is to be seen also in the very language of the revolutionary leaders. In a day when the Bible was the most read book and the ever-present companion of the people, it was inevitable that its language as well as its ideas should become an integral part of their lives. Thus we find Washington, obviously influenced by Micah, writing in

his letters to the governors of all the states on disbanding the army, of his hope that God "would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility and pacific temper of mind which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation."

The Story of Asser Levy

The chief contributions of the Jew, therefore, to the struggle for freedom were some of its ruling ideas and its inspiration. However, I cannot refrain from mentioning the contribution of one of my favorite characters in American history, the little-known Asser Levy. Together with a small band of Jewish refugees from the inquisition, he arrived in the harbor of New Amsterdam when Peter Stuyvesant was governor. The doughty Dutchman didn't like Jews and denied them admittance. The Jews appealed to his employer, the Dutch West India company, who granted their request. The Jews were admitted, but were constantly discriminated against. When, in July 1655, Stuyvesant was commanded to attack the Swedes on the Delaware, he issued orders for the enlistment of all adults except Jews. They were to be exempted from military service he said because his soldiers objected to being quartered with them, but each male Jew would be expected to pay a monthly sum of 65 stivers in return for his exemption.

At this moment, Asser Levy stepped forward to fight for the rights of the Jews. He was possessed of qualities such as aggressiveness, obstinacy, pugnaciousness, shrewdness, not always considered desirable, but exactly what these circumstances required. He announced publicly that he would not pay the tax and he insisted on his right to stand guard with the other inhabitants. His demand was bluntly rejected and he was told (how modern!) that if he didn't like it, he could return where he came from. Undaunted, he appealed to Holland and eventually was vindicated. He was permitted to do guard duty.

Lord Baltimore

In January 1657, it was announced that only burghers would be granted certain important trade privileges. Asser Levy then requested the full rights of citizenship on the ground that he was fulfilling his obligation to the community like all the other burghers, and also that Jews were admitted to citizenship in Amsterdam. At first his request was denied, but Levy continued to fight for his rights. Finally he appealed to the director general. Stuyvesant, recalling the Jew's former victories and fearing further trouble with his employers, finally ordered on April 21, 1657, that Jews be admitted as burghers. This was tremendously significant. For the first time a Jew, insisting on his right to the duties as well as the benefits of the new America, was granted full citizenship and thereby helped to initiate a tradition by which one day these rights would be granted to all, regardless of race, color, creed or sex.

While the Catholics have made many contributions to American democracy, the outstanding, it seems to me, was that of Lord Baltimore in the founding of Maryland. George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, was converted in middle life to Catholicism. Despite the bitter anti-Catholic feeling in England at the time, he retained the friendship of his king and associates. They seem to have respected the sincerity of his motives. In his personality was combined deep religious feeling, shrewd worldliness and breadth of mind. When he secured from James I the proprietary right to Maryland, he established religious freedom in it, at least for all Christians. Was this designed to attract settlers from all denominations to a territory which Catholics alone could not profitably colonize? Was this declaration of religious tolerance the instrument for establishing a haven for Catholics at a time when it would have been impossible to start an avowedly Catholic colony?

The First Amendment

Important as these factors may have been, and I am not equipped to evaluate them, there is no question but that Baltimore did permit and encourage religious freedom in Maryland. This is to be seen in his instructions to the governors and commissioners, all of whom were Catholic, to avoid giving offense to the Protestants who constituted more than half of the settlers, and, in the oaths, he enjoined on all officials to make no distinctions on the basis of religion and to punish all infractions of this rule. These orders were enforced. The servants at St. Inigoes complained that the Catholic overseer, Lewis, cast aspersions on their Protestant clergy and ordered them to desist from reading Protestant sermons. Lewis was thereupon brought to trial and then convicted and heavily fined by a Catholic court, including Governor Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore. In another case Dr. Thomas Gerard, a Catholic, seized the books and key to the Protestant chapel. The Catholic authorities ordered him to return them and, as a fine, to defray the salary of the first Protestant minister who should arrive in the colony.

Although technically these laws were not intended to apply to non-Christians, for all practical purposes they did. When Dr. Jacob Lumbroza, a Jew, was arrested in the colony for being a non-Christian, he was speedily released and granted the rights of a free man.

In spite of many vicissitudes, struggles and temporary defeats, the Baltimore tradition of religious freedom was maintained by his spiritual descendents. Senator Charles Carroll of the famous Maryland Catholic family, was chairman of the committee on conference which prepared the first amendment to the constitution: "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." That he must have been influential in its adoption can be inferred from a letter he, a Catholic, wrote at the time to a Protestant minister. "To obtain religious as well as civil liberty, I entered zealously into the revolution. God grant that religious liberty may be preserved in these states to the end of time."

If space permitted there would be many other

groups and individuals to mention: William Penn who said, "We must yield to others the liberties we demand for ourselves," and the Quakers whose friendliness and pacifism leavened the harshness and aggressiveness of a pioneer civilization; the humanitarian Huguenot, Oglethorpe, who welcomed to Georgia the oppressed and disinherited of Europe; the Unitarians who enriched American life with their culture, their humaneness and their great spirits; the Methodists whose circuit riders braved the hazards of the wilderness in their zeal to minister to the frontiersmen; the Catholic spiritual influence in the vast territories acquired from France and Spain; the hardy Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who courageously pushed the frontier westward and whose Dr. Mackemie fought the good fight for religious liberty in New York and made it impossible for any of its governors ever again to interfere with the preaching of the gospel; the Anglicans whose gentility and moderation added a softening and a refining touch to the American picture; these bearers of good gifts to America are legion. Together they made a contribution of immense importance to the American way of life.

I am not suggesting that all the contributions of all these religious groups were good. I am aware of the blighting influence of certain narrow concepts of religion. But I do maintain that at its best religion was an influence for freedom, liberalism, enlightenment and social idealism in early American life.

These beneficent influences of religion are needed today. In the light of their past contributions, this people has the right to expect of religions leadership in the struggle to keep America safe for differences, for freedom and for cooperative endeavors.

None but the Brave Deserve the Future

By George N. Shuster

CHURCH and state have locked in battle many times during the past. In the light of that experience, we Americans face a question of sovereign importance: Is it possible to establish a functional government, such as the present stage of industrial development appears to demand, without suffering the state to make inroads into domains legitimately claimed by the church? The news from abroad is not encouraging. We in our lifetimes have witnessed more extensive and brutal attacks upon fundamental liberties than have, perhaps, been recorded in any previous age. Efforts to establish social or national religions have evoked the spirit of persecution against Jews and Christians alike.

Now there is one aspect of this sorrow-laden history which seems to me deserving of especial attention. When originally faced with grave danger, the various religious groups in countries affected have intensified rather than composed their differences in the hour of need.

There can be no doubt, for example, that the Germany which was struggling for dear life against Hitler was also a Germany in which the tension between Protestant, Catholic and Jew was most acute. Clergy and laity of various groups used their position as leaders to carry mutual animosity deep into the hearts of the common people. My German Protestant friends did not hesitate to deplore the fact that a Catholic chancellor was guiding the nation; and the circumstance that sectarian feeling was used during 1932 to affect the actions of the field-marshal president is now a commonplace of history. Nor was the sentiment in the other groups really better. Excessive criticism of the Jews, based upon the shortcomings of individual members of that race, was rampant among Catholics and Protestants alike; and a certain consciousness of making headway against the Lutheran majority may well have blinded many too proud Catholics to the real situation.

Hitler Reveals Common Faith

Of course it did not take long, under the iron fist of Hitler, to reveal how very much the different faiths had in common. It would be easy to cite book and chapter to prove that the religious fact best understood in present-day Germany is the solidarity which exists between all believers in the fatherhood of God. The Catholic ordinaries of many dioceses—notably Munich, Berlin and Cologne—have paid sincere tribute to those who have suffered martyrdom for the gospel as preached by Martin Luther; and conversely Protestant tributes to the Church of Rome are legion. Nor has the Jew been forgotten. Witness after witness has testified, often at the cost of poverty and imprisonment, to the sacredness of Hebraic tradition and to the rightfulness of the Hebraic protest against the tyranny now visited in such a frightful manner upon the children of Israel. If a fourth of all this genuinely spiritual cooperation had been shown prior to 1933, what we have since witnessed would forever have been impossible.

What I have said about the German situation applies, of course under different conditions, to other countries.

We in the United States possess the inestimable advantage of being able to utilize this experience if we wish to do so. The realization that a common front is to be defended, in spite of important cleavages, ought to be a fairly simple matter. By a "common front" I mean primarily an attitude of defense against the modern temptation—which is, perhaps, one of the most stupid of all collective temptations—to rely utterly upon the power and authority of the state.

It is legitimate from the point of view of the spirit to desire that government assume greater responsibil-

ity for the wellbeing of groups and individuals than it has done in the past. However much inclined we might be, on the basis of political and economic conviction, to question the ability of the state to regulate successfully the multiform activities of modern industry, there is nothing in the life of religion which demands that the ethical propriety of the attempt be denied. But we must all be prepared to question, seriously and drastically, the right of the state to make use of the individual. The state may desire war; the person may detest war. The state may seek to impose a theory of education in the hope of making the young man or woman more subservient to its enactments; and the Christian must be prepared, if need be, to resist that theory as he would the powers of evil themselves. Numerous other ways in which a deep and elemental conflict between the soul and the state can arise will suggest themselves to every one.

Signs of the Times

As yet the danger is not imminent in the United States. After all a tradition of liberty is cherished here by so very many that an effort to uproot it would meet with stern resistance. But we cannot be indifferent to the fact that the tide is running in almost all countries toward a militarized tyranny. Even those who would close their eyes and ears to the signs, cannot get rid of an uneasy feeling in their hearts. Collectively American religion needs to concern itself much more with the suffering borne by believers in other lands. If the duty were not there, the lesson would still be too valuable to pass by.

What forms our "common front" should take is implicit, I think, in what has been said. We need no new organizations, those already formed being entirely adequate provided an increasingly large number of individuals will share their work and contribute to their support, both morally and financially. The ground on which we must stand in this fight is common ground. The weapons are to a considerable extent the same for one group as for others. All that is required is vigilance, allied with determination and a sense of strategy.

Need I add that while it sounds simple, it is perhaps the rarest of all commodities? Vigilance is, after all, a habit; and if we do not start to acquire it pretty soon, we will certainly be minus it when the test comes.

The Commonweal, March 2, 1934.

Can We Learn to be Brotherly?

By James V. Thompson

SHE sat with a group of other later adolescents who were discussing personal problems and their implications. Dignified in manner, quietly and tastefully dressed, aside from the color of her skin there was nothing in tone of voice, ideas suggested, or consideration for the opinions of others to set her apart from the rest of the group. Then with a little catch in her voice she said: "We are having trouble with my little sister; perhaps you can help us. In our family life we have always talked of all peoples and cultures as though they were each worthy of respect, of consideration, and kindly appreciation. And now suddenly through her public school and street contacts this preadolescent child has been forced to face the fact that she is a Negro. She is wounded, terrified, hopeless. When we attempt to assuage her grief, she says, 'But you are Negroes too.' Can you help us find a way out?"

In the Heart of a Child

In his remarkable book, "The Jew and the World Ferment," Basil Mathews tells the story of the rude awakening of a five-year old French boy walking with his nurse in the garden of Notre Dame. They are met by a priest who stoops graciously to speak with smiling words to the little lad. Addressing the nurse he asks the boy's name. She replies, giving his Jewish name. Immediately the priest, now sober faced, turns away, saying, "What a pity!" Startled and aroused the lad turns first to his nurse, then to his playmate for an answer to the question that has darkened his little world. His playmate, too, is ignorant of racial and cultural differences and so has to get information from her parents, the repetition of which only deepens the shadow that has already struck grief and fear and bafflement to the soul of this little child.

> One more devil's triumph and sorrow for angels,
> One more wrong to man, one more insult to God.

The affliction upon succeeding generations of children and youth of this violation of respect for persons as such is an affront to a fundamental tenet of human intelligence.

Influence of Adults

Primitive peoples recognized the fact that growing children inevitably take on the patterns of life into which they are cast, and early organized procedures which would insure the transmission from generation to generation of their folkways. Charles Stelzle used to say that given the same type of food, of clothing, of air to breathe, of sights to see, and of persons to observe, children from the ends of the earth would develop common types of behavior.

By the time they have reached adolescence children have learned, perhaps unconsciously but none the less surely, who are the "right" people, what are the "right" and "wrong" things to do, the "right" political party, the "right" church, the disparaging or approving terms to apply to various types of persons and behavior, parties and groups, sections of the town, fami-

lies and religions. The responses which children have a chance to make are largely determined for them by the situations into which the accident of birth has thrust them. For the most part the educational experiences of children are conditioned by adults. The accumulated tensions of like and dislike, of desire and repression, of driving and thwarting, in the face of the mores of family, cult, and race, constitute many of the problems which overwhelm adolescent boys and girls as they attempt to adjust themselves to the demands of their own spirit and intelligence and to our increasingly complex social demands.

The Promise of the Schools

Obviously then, if the attempt is to be made to bring about among the sons of men a new day of justice, love and peace, some procedures must be employed which differ from those of the past. These procedures must make it possible for growing life to be brought into contact with understanding, appreciation and good will to the end that the life which is good to live may be made possible for every person everywhere. There are in the United States approximately one million teachers in the public schools and approximately the same number of teachers in church schools. Here is a potential assurance of that new day. Suppose, for instance, that history and literature, politics and religion, should for a single generation be presented on the basis of intellectual honesty and a defensible religious ethic! Suppose that all the information presented for the consideration of growing youth should be pertinent, verifiable and ungarbled! Suppose we actually believed in the function of the individual intelligence! Suppose we should begin to accept the validity of the individual's intelligent facing of his own problem of getting on in his own situation and should offer our help to him to achieve the spiritual insight and dynamic therein! Imagine what a host of half-truths, threats, superstitions, and undesirable prejudices would be cast out of the everyday dealing with the everyday person in the home, on the street, in the classroom, in the church.

But, since such a complete revolution in our social and educational procedure is impossible of achievement overnight, what can we do? At the beginning of the century John Dewey is reported to have said that it is absurd to expect that schools and churches and homes should remain unaffected by any social revolution. Social change inevitably leaves its mark upon the home. The school and the church cannot be effective agents in society and remain insulated from the movements which are affecting that society.

Association of Ideas

One of the most potent springs of human action is found in the sentiments which arise out of, and in turn affect, the individual's personal experiences. A sentiment may be roughly described as a disposition to feel in a certain way. It comes about, of course, through the association of an idea with an emotion until that emotion for the individual becomes characteristic or symbolic of the idea. Thus the appearance of the idea will at once arouse the characteristic emotion, and the appearance of the emotion will be likely to occasion the emergence of its companion idea or ideas. Many readers will recall the early emotional accompaniment to the idea of persons of other races, of other religions, of other types of behavior, than that with which they were already familiar. The automobile driver will readily recognize the symbolic emotions touched off in him at the mention of such terms as "road-hog," "hit-and-run," or "drunken-driver." Even "back-seat-driving" will yield its modicum of emotion. To be sure not all symbolic emotional accompaniments of ideas are undesirable. Together, an idea and its characteristic emotion for the individual are usually accompanied by some urge to act. Often the action will exhibit itself through some overt physical manifestation such as striking, a vitriolic remark, smiling, snubbing, or some other action. To be sure also, this tendency to act may be sublimated in forms which are socially acceptable and desirable. The point which we are trying to make is that sentiments are of primary importance in the development of dispositions to act or feel in certain ways.

A Problem for Adults

Any analyzing we may make of the sentiments in ourselves or in others is likely to disclose sources quite early in life. The attempts of the child to be like his fellows, to imitate the ways of his folk, to enact the roles of persons in stories or pictures, are his normal mode of seeking satisfaction through a sense of belonging and identification. Teachers long since have learned to read the details of home life from the sentiments, attitudes, language exhibited by the pupil. Epithets, descriptive adjectives, tones of voice, gestures used by parents, older brothers and sisters, by guests—these find easy access to the "little pitchers with big ears." The so-called "funnies" in news print and film, the types of persons used as heroes, heroines, and villains in juvenile literature, drama and song are powerful agencies for the production of sentiments. The omniverous mind of the everyday child lays hold of current practice in his world and adapts it to his own use in getting on in that world.

This puts the problem squarely before us of planning the ways in which groups of persons are most likely to develop desirable sentiments in reference to human relations. This is a problem for the adults in homes, schools, churches, and other community agencies which exhibit to inescapable eyes, particularly those of children and young people, the ways in which adults organize their human relations.

In one community a group of church school teachers, of university students and public school teachers, set about an enterprise in the realm of inter-cultural appreciation. Two local culture groups were selected for special study. Public school pupils of the Negro race and their teachers, Negro church school pupils and their teachers, developed together original dramatic and other exhibit materials as a project in the public school and the church school, both weekday and Sunday. The university group collaborated, and arranged for the public demonstrations growing out of this activity. The underlying purpose of these joint activities

of the Negroes, the native whites, and the immigrant Italians and their community, was to develop sentiments of respect, confidence, appreciation, good will, to the end that in the life of the community the contributions which each of these culture groups might offer would be sought out and employed for the building of a more wholesome citizenry; and, by the same token, that these groups would be helped to recognize their function and responsibility as normal parts of the community life and so develop emotions of joy, esteem, loyalty.

Similar procedures were employed at some other times in relation to other culture groups.

In One School Group

Through the weekday church school and the public schools, some fourth and fifth grade groups studied the life of Jesus and his people. This led to synagogue visits, to the study of Jewish home life, acquaintance with Jewish rites and customs, and literature familiar to Jewish children. A high school group spent several months in the study of the Roman Catholic faith, much to their enlightenment and to the overthrow of certain myths and misconceptions concerning this great religious culture.

Several representatives of the Jewish culture and several representatives of the Protestant Christian culture were invited to discuss in panel fashion significant intercultural problems before a great gathering of Protestant Christian women. The fearless frankness, sincerity of purpose, and gracious consideration exhibited by these representatives broke down groundless barriers and engendered new constellations of sentiments with reference to both of these great cultures.

There is no "patent medicine" for the achievement of brotherhood. Brotherliness is an achievement. The expectation, the bitterness and resentment of adults become the pattern of their children. Negroes expect to be exploited. Jews expect discrimination. Italians expect segregation. And their children acquire the same expectancy. There are no "restricted" developments in this area.

What Can Be Done?

Some positive things can be done. Personal contact between desirable and fair representatives of other peoples, faiths, cultures is generally possible in classroom, home, church. In one school the director had several orientals, Scandinavians, Italians give their names, explain the meanings of them, and describe the ways in which children in their lands are named. "Miss Yuki, I think you have a beautiful name." And Japan was less strange. Anita B. Ferris' delightful story, "Across the Threshold," was given to a boy just crossing his own threshold. He wrote the donor, "Gee, it was swell. I'm going to be like Osseo." And the Indian of tomahawk and bloody scalp was gone forever. Mrs. G. had just described the beautiful ceremony of the lighting of the candles on Friday evening in the conservative Jewish home. A Christian woman said, "It is a beautiful custom. I'm ashamed of our careless home ways." A Jew came to know a Christian minister who incarnated the spirit of Jesus, and the derogatory stereotype of a "goy" was gone.

Church, and community and school, and family and parent groups, young people's forums, home rooms, assemblies, a host of already available channels are at hand. By planning for it, these groups have opportunity to do what Jacob Riis used to call "looking at the other fellow through his own eyes."

What Is Brotherhood?

Brotherhood day? Yes, by all means. But "days" are not substitutes for sentiments. Calling one "Brother" on the "day" and "doing him first" or ostracizing him during the balance of the year can scarcely be reckoned as "brotherhood."

Brotherhood is the name of a function. If it is real brotherhood that we are seeking, there are ways in which this sentiment can be built up in the minds of our generation. These ways are not strange, mysterious, or especially difficult. It is needless to attempt to prove the obvious. A major concern for home, for school, for church, and for community, is the development of the will to understand, the will to appreciate, the will to be brotherly. Until this will has come, brotherhood is yet a long way off.

Rhode Island and Roger Williams

BY June 16, 1636, the "masters of families" had been incorporated into a town fellowship. The covenant into which they entered began as follows: "We whose names are hereunder written . . . do with free and joint consent promise each unto other that for our common peace and welfare (until we hear further of the king's royal pleasure concerning ourselves) we will from time to time subject ourselves in active and passive obedience to such orders and agreements as shall be made by the greater number of the present householders, and such as shall hereafter be admitted by their consent into the same privilege and covenant in our ordinary meetings. . . ."

To this was later added the phrase, "Only in civil things."

James Ernst, in "Roger Williams, New England Firebrand," comments: "The phrase 'only in civil things' is a direct, clear, and complete statement of a new force that was to mould the character of American society. Providence was the first modern government from which religious power was eliminated. The magistrate had no longer any religious or church power. Separation of church and state and liberty of conscience now became a fact. Roger Williams denied the civil state a right to inquire into the beliefs of its citizens. The people he held 'ought not to be cut off from civil society because their consciences dare not bow down to any worship but what they believe,' who are 'otherwise subject to the civil state and laws thereof.' "

Religious Liberty in Maryland

By J. Elliot Ross

MARCH 27, 1634, the day on which the first pilgrims of Maryland formally established their settlement at St. Mary's City, marks a turning-point in world history. For the government that day founded was the first in modern times to apply the distinctively American principles of separation of church and state and religious freedom for all. These Maryland settlers started a bloodless revolution that has since become triumphant in most of western civilization.

Indeed, so firmly entrenched in our federal constitution have these principles become that it is difficult for us now to realize how different was the situation in the early seventeenth century. Then the idea that the state must officially be united to some particular church, severely limiting the rights of nonconformists, was universally accepted, and it had the sacred sanction of the custom of centuries. *Cujus regio, ejus religio* was an unquestioned maxim of jurisprudence. According as they had the power, Catholics were intolerant of Protestants, Protestants of Catholics. About the only thing on which all Christians united was an intolerance toward the Jews.

First Separation of Church and State

Under such circumstances, therefore, it took a far-seeing vision to conceive the possibility of establishing a government without an official church, a government, moreover, that would allow its subjects the right of worshiping God according to their individual consciences; and it took statesmanship of the highest order to carry such a conception into execution in spite of the difficulties in the way.

Without in the least subtracting from the credit due to Roger Williams and William Penn, Marylanders may well feel proud of the fact that theirs was the first government in modern times successfully to separate church and state and to grant freedom of worship. And the fact that the initiative in this experiment came from a Catholic, George Calvert, and that it was carried through by his son, Cecil, gives Catholics a special right to satisfaction.

As far as the records go, from the beginning of the colony there had been complete toleration for all. The Anglicans and Catholics among the first settlers seem to have built the first chapel by their joint contributions, and at any rate it was used by both groups for their respective services. The religious freedom extended beyond Anglicans and Catholics, as is shown by the presence, prior to 1649, of a number of persons not attached to any church. It is probable that some of these religiously unattached persons were freethinkers. And there is good reason to believe that the practice of tolerance embraced Jews also. Certainly during the Puritan regime in Maryland, there was a Jewish doctor named Lumbrozo, who had probably been in the colony some time. He was brought to trial under the provisions of the toleration act, but his trial had not been completed when Lord Baltimore regained control of the colony, and Lumbrozo was granted full rights of citizenship, thus showing conclusively the broad spirit of the lord proprietor.

Legacy of the Calverts

The Lords Baltimore deserve great credit and our profound thanks for the pioneer work they did in proving the possibility of the modern state being separated from any particular church, and granting religious liberty to all citizens. Nor should the fact that they could not, under the circumstances, have established a Catholic colony, restricting liberty to Catholics, subtract in the least from the credit due to them. For they were not forced to establish a colony at all. And everything we know of them goes to prove that both George and Cecil Calvert were high-minded, sincere men, intensely devoted to the principle of freedom of conscience.

It would be pleasant to record that the Calverts' experiment in granting religious freedom was uniformly and permanently successful. Unfortunately, however, there was a Protestant revolution in 1689. In 1702 the Anglican church was established by law, and in 1718 the Catholics were disfranchised. This was the situation when Maryland, in union with the other colonies, decided to separate from England. The Calverts were ahead of their generation in sincere devotion to the principle of religious liberty, and in realizing that there were forces at work which would inevitably demand such liberty. In spite of a temporary setback, their judgment was confirmed by the actual march of history.

But even if their judgment had been proved wrong, and intolerance had permanently triumphed, we should nevertheless give all praise to the Calverts for having even for a brief moment shown to the world the light of liberty. They gambled magnificently, and in the long run the idea they stood for won. The temporary failure only increases the measure of their stature, because it shows against what odds they fought at the time, and how far they were in advance of their contemporaries. A statesman's ability is to be estimated not only by the exact amount of his immediate success, but also by the difficulties he has to face, and by the sureness with which he calculates the larger forces of history.

A "Civil" Colony

The credit that we Catholics give to the Lords Baltimore, however, and to the first Catholics in Maryland, should not, on the other hand, make us subtract from the credit due to the Protestants who cooperated in this venture. George Calvert obtained the consent of a Protestant king, James, to the granting of a char-

ter liberal enough to allow religious liberty, and there must have been some understanding between the king and Lord Baltimore in regard to this most important point. Moreover the Catholics, although holding the powers of government in the first years of the colony, may have been, as some claim, in a minority. Certainly many Protestants must have been willing to risk their lives and fortunes in the great adventure of establishing a state upon the basis of religious freedom. There is glory enough for all.

Finally, it seems to me that to call Maryland a "Catholic" colony obscures its real significance. For such a term appears to imply a union between the state and the Catholic church, or at least some special recognition accorded to the Catholic church. It is true that the lord proprietor was a Catholic, that the government was at first in the hands of Catholics, and that many of the first settlers were Catholics. But I prefer to say that Maryland was neither a "Catholic" nor a "Protestant" colony. Maryland was a civil colony, not united to any church, and for that reason exemplifying more clearly the idea that religious profession would not be a bar to the enjoyment of civil rights.

Condensed from *The Commonweal, March 2, 1934.*

Joint Endeavors and the Public Good

By Abraham Cronbach

THE MANIFESTATIONS of good will among Catholics, Protestants and Jews are almost as varied as they are numerous. Sometimes both beneficiary and benefactor are individuals. A Jewish acquaintance tides a Catholic business man over financial difficulties or a Protestant physician attends an indigent Jewish patient free of charge. Sometimes the benefactor is an individual and the beneficiary a group. An example would be the Protestant who contributes to the Jewish Welfare fund. Sometimes the benefactor is a group and the beneficiary an individual. A Catholic hospital grants free treatment to an injured Protestant or the Salvation army shelters an unfortunate Jewish woman. Sometimes, benefactor and beneficiary are both of them groups. A Jewish congregation puts its place of worship at the disposal of a Baptist congregation whose church has been destroyed by fire. Protestants and Catholics organize to assist in liquidating the mortgage on the Jewish center.

All Three Together

Often the beneficiary is neither an individual nor a group but the public at large. A Jew donates a planetarium to the city. A Presbyterian church provides free lunches for the unemployed. Catholic sisters of mercy care for incurables regardless of origin. Hebrew Union college students rush to the rescue of the city's flood victims. And sometimes the benefactor of the public at large is not any one of the denominations but all three of them together. The readiness of Protestant and Jewish religious bodies to follow the Catholics in their crusade against salacious moving pictures would be a case in point; or the interreligious committee which works to prevent the sale and circulation of prurient literature.

Generally speaking, measures prosecuted jointly and having the general public as beneficiary take the form of (a) joint pronouncements, (b) joint investigations, (c) joint interventions, (d) joint public exercises and (e) joint benevolences.

The most notable instance of a joint pronouncement was that issued June 6, 1923 by the Federal council of churches, the National Catholic welfare conference and the Central Conference of American rabbis regarding the twelve-hour-day and the seven-day-week in the steel industry. The Iron and Steel institute had reported that a reduction in the number of working hours was unfeasible. The joint pronouncement challenged the conclusions of those experts and brought to a focus the public opinion which had long been developing against those inhuman hours. Shortly after the publication of the joint manifesto by the churches, and other public discussion, the United States Steel corporation discontinued the twelve-hour-day, saying that public opinion had demanded it.

A joint statement condemning the conditions of work and the violence against the strikers in the southern textile industry was issued by those three bodies in 1929. In 1932 a joint utterance on unemployment appeared. In 1933 the three bodies appealed jointly for cooperation with President Roosevelt in his recovery program. Outside of those three organizations, a group of leading Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen published a call to observe April 27, 1930 as "Unemployment Sunday." As recently as April 1935, an array of religious leaders of the three denominations warned, in a joint declaration, against the dangers threatening our civil liberties. The St. Louis social justice commission, consisting of pastors, priests and rabbis, made a study of the milk marketing situation and called for approval of cooperative marketing by farmers.

Joint Investigations

Joint investigations have been that of the enginemen's strike on the Western Maryland railroad, that of the Centralia prisoners and that of labor conditions in the Real Silk hosiery mills. The invitation to diagnose the trouble on the Western Maryland railroad came to the Federal council of churches, the National Catholic welfare conference and the Central Conference of American rabbis from prominent citizens of Cumberland and Hagerstown, Maryland. The report of the investigation appeared in 1928—a model of vi-

sion, wisdom and social-mindedness. The investigation at the Real Silk hosiery mills was undertaken by the three bodies at the request of the American federation of full fashioned hosiery workers. One outcome was the appointment of a new Real Silk personnel director who proceeded to correct the abuses which the report had disclosed. The Centralia investigation was invited by the Congregationalists and the Methodists of the state of Washington. The report, published twice in 1930, won fervent expressions of gratitude and is said to have hastened the Centralia prisoners' release. From 1922 to 1926 there existed among those three religious bodies a joint conference on the economic factors in international relations.

Unsuccessful Approaches to President Hoover

Intervention is exemplified in the attempts of the bodies just mentioned to prevent a hosiery strike at Reading, Pennsylvania. Representatives of those three organizations also visited President Hoover in January 1931, to urge upon him a program for coping with unemployment. About the same time, the Catholic and the Jewish representative joined John Dewey in appealing to the President for an appropriation of a hundred million dollars to succor the children suffering because of the depression. Both of these approaches to President Hoover were unsuccessful. A happier outcome attended the efforts of the St. Louis social justice commission, composed of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergy and professors, to avert a taxicab strike and a streetcar strike. At another time, invited by the dairymen, this commission succeeded in arbitrating a dispute between the dairymen and the milk wagon drivers. The commission, called in by the mayor on another occasion, obtained an increase of wages for the underpaid workers of a nut picking factory.

The "Conference on Permanent Preventives of Unemployment" was a significant example of a jointly conducted public gathering. This conference, sponsored by the rabbis, the Catholic welfare conference and the Federal council, was held at Washington in January, 1931. Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives also participated in a session on "Religious Issues and the Economic Crisis" provided by the Religious Education association at Atlanta in April 1931. Similarly has the social justice commission of St. Louis held seminars on unemployment and on world peace. In Cincinnati, the Peace Heroes Memorial society has been conducting exercises every Decoration day since 1923 to honor workers who have lost their lives at their occupations and women who have died in childbirth. These exercises in which Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives invariably figure have been copied in numerous localities.

Community Chests

The community chest movement is, of course, the outstanding example of interdenominational benevolence. There are approximately four hundred community chests in the United States. Grounds exist for surmising that, in almost every "chest city" in which Jewish social service is adequately organized, the Jewish philanthropies are allied with the community and religious groups interested in this venture. The factor of general public advantage is present in the community chest even though special groups are, at the same time, aided. Cincinnati has, accessory to its community chest, an interdenominational committee on "Religion and Social Service" while Rochester, New York, has its analogous "Interreligious Courts Committee."

Thus we see that, among the tendencies marking interfaith comity, these frequent and fruitful joint undertakings in the general behalf occupy a prominent place. Considering how much still remains to be done, it is entirely reasonable to expect, with continued amity, additional fields of activity along these lines.

Revival of Tribalism

By Carlton J. H. Hayes

NATIONALISM is a curious and increasingly significant phenomenon in modern history, one that simply must be taken into account by any serious student of intergroup relations. It began to emerge clearly in western Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It received a strong impetus from the French revolution of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, it spread all over central Europe, and then eastern Europe and overseas into America, and of course Asia. And in the twentieth century, it certainly was one of the major causes of the world war. And the outstanding result of the world war has been to accentuate nationalism. Nationalism is now rising to flood tide all over the world, and to a flood tide which promises no early ebbing.

This modern nationalism is essentially a reversion on a large scale, and among civilized peoples, indeed among highly industrialized peoples, to primitive tribalism. It is a rebirth of tribalism, with corresponding decay not only of localism but of cosmopolitanism. Present-day nationalism, in its most developed forms, can be defined in almost the identical words in which anthropologists would define tribalism.

Nationalism Is Tribalism

Hold in mind for a moment any extreme nationalistic country with a dictatorship at the present time and think of the definition of tribalism, that is, a supreme loyalty to a particular group of people who possess a common language or closely related dialects, who pretend to a common racial origin, and discriminate against races which they deem different and, therefore, inferior; who try to establish and maintain an economic self-sufficiency and a regimenting of society and government; who inculcate their particular brand of loyalty into all the children and young people, by schools, special patriotic organizations and military training; who are taught to extol and revive some ancient and peculiar pagan and tribal religion; who, filled with supreme devotion to the tribal nation, as such, are intolerant of dissent from

within or fancied dissent from without; and who stand ready and willing, at a moment's notice, to go on the warpath. The most perfect instance of all this is the contemporary nationalism of Germany. But in only a lesser degree and with only slight modification you will find instances of it in Italy, Turkey, Japan, Mexico, and ever so many other countries which I might mention. There are certainly many advocates of it right here in the United States.

Unless there is some way of checking and moderating it, the lesson of history points ominously toward a degree of intolerance and hatred and armed conflict, the like of which the world throughout all its recorded history has never known. That it may be checked and moderated in time is suggested to the historian, at any rate, by his knowledge that modern nationalism is a short-term trend, while among the long-term trends are change and conservatism and religion.

From "The American Way."

A Catholic Bishop Preaches to Protestants

By Peter Guilday

ONE of the greatest of our American Catholic bishops was Dr. John England who presided over the diocese of Charleston, South Carolina, then composed of the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and for a time, Florida, from 1820 until his death in 1842. No one can claim that the Catholic faith was known so well by those who are not members of our church, say, a hundred years ago in the United States, as today in 1936. All who know our American religious history realize that these very years (1820-1842) saw in the north the rise of political nativism which was soon after John England's death to break out in many cities with rioting, arson and bloodshed.

And yet, during these same years no minister of the gospel was more welcome in Protestant pulpits than Bishop England. He was also, by the way, the first Catholic prelate to be invited by a committee of twenty-one representatives (all Protestants) to address congress, which he did on January 8, 1826. That speech of almost two hours needs to be read (it is in his "Works," vii, 9-44) to realize the great heart of the man and the sturdy Catholicism of the prelate.

But to return to his sermons. He traveled extensively through the southland and everywhere he was waited upon by mayors and principal men of the cities, who assured him of their delight in seeing their Catholic fellow-citizens organized into congregations, and in many cases he was embarrassed because he had to make a choice of the requests to preach in their churches, personally made to him by Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian and Baptist ministers. It is related in his "Diurnal," that from January 1, 1821, to December 5, 1823, he had preached 207 times in non-Catholic pulpits. No one ever took offense at his forthright presentation of a Catholic doctrine and what controversy was stirred up was in the main from the pens of those who did not know him or had not heard him.

I have always considered this remarkable chapter in our American ecclesiastical history one of the greatest sources of courage for all who are endeavoring to lessen ill will and misunderstanding in religious affairs.

Roger Williams' Sources

By James Ernst

THINKERS and statesmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had given their best thoughts to working out a new basis of society to replace the medieval culture shattered by the renaissance and reformation; but their endeavors were hampered by the customs, traditions, and ideas of an old world, obstinate and perverse, by a lack of new experiences beyond those of their own environment, and by a beclouded vision. Many Utopias were constructed besides those of Sir Thomas More and Francis Bacon. A number of them were tried out in America: Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut—all were part of a daring search for a new social order. It remained for "the most despised and outcast soul" in old and New England to found the first democratic society by his experiment at Providence.

Roger Williams derived his theory of state in large part from Teutonic, Greek and Roman paganism. From the ancient Greeks came the ideas of natural rights which were modified by the Romans, clarified and refined by the medieval and Renaissance thinkers; he accepted the five chief ideas of the social contract doctrine, which had been developed by the time of St. Augustine: the conscious institution of government by man, the civil equality of men, natural rights, government by consent of the governed, and the right of rebellion.

From "Roger Williams, New England Firebrand."

Challenge

THIS is no time for fear, for doubts of good,
For broodings on the tragedies of fate.
It is a time for songs of brotherhood;
For hymns of joy, of man's divine estate.
Though echoes of old wars depress the heart,
Though greed and hate still curse men's nobler ways,
Though foul suspicion blasts our life apart,
It is a time for confidence and praise.
Let prophets prophesy, let poets sing.
Our dreams are not in vain. The night is past.
Together, as new hopes are wakening,
Let us proclaim: God's Kingdom comes at last!
Our Babels crash. Let selfish flags be furled.
As brothers all, we build a Friendly World.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

The National Conference of Jews & Christians

(Protestant & Catholic)

"For Justice, Amity, Understanding and Cooperation Among Protestants, Catholics and Jews"

289 FOURTH AVE., NEW YORK CITY

• • •

¶Hon. Newton D. Baker, senior chairman, defined the aim of the National Conference: "to moderate and finally to eliminate a system of prejudices which disfigures and distorts our business, social, political and religious relations."

¶The Conference does not underestimate the differences that distinguish Protestants, Catholics and Jews, nor minimize them. It seeks no common denominator of belief. Its purpose is not served by any watering down of religious conviction or lessening of loyalty to one's own household of faith.

¶It believes that these religious groups in an atmosphere of religious liberty may be as separate in creed and ritual as the fingers of the outstretched hand, yet as united as the clenched fist in their impact upon those undertakings which are of common interest and concern to them as American citizens.

¶The National Conference is prepared to offer encouragement and help to any community in organizing a Local Round Table. Such a Round Table can (1) sponsor a youth and adult educational program for better human relations among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; (2) act with statesmanship in times of tension or crisis in intergroup relations; (3) further the cause of understanding and goodwill by all methods that the local situation and need suggest; (4) maintain a spiritual interpretation of the universe and of life.

BROTHERHOOD DAY

Saturday and Sunday nearest Washington's Birthday

An educational project in the interest of better human relations.

MEMBERSHIP: Associate, $2; Contributing, $10; Sustaining, $25; (clergy and educators, $1). Members receive regular publications.

Co-Chairmen
Hon. Newton D. Baker
Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes
Mr. Roger Williams Straus

Everett R. Clinchy, Ph.D., Director
Robert A. Ashworth, D.D., Editorial Secty.
Benson Y. Landis, Ph.D., Research Secty.

Getting Religion Into The Newspaper

The N.C.J.C. News Service has two aims: one is to supply the religious press with a complete news and feature service; the other is to get religion into the daily newspaper, by means of a nationwide news service and a complete feature service.

The N.C.J.C. News Service is rapidly becoming known as the "Associated Press of the religious forces." It is getting daily newspapers to take religion seriously and hence increasing the amount of religious news and features in the daily press.

Religious leaders and churches can help promote this work by supporting daily newspapers which use **The N.C.J.C. News Service** and by recommending the use of this service to editors of their local daily newspapers.

At present **The N.C.J.C. News Service** reaches a total circulation of more than six million readers who, day in and day out, are given the highest type of religious news and features. This circulation can be increased to fifty million if religious leaders and churches are determined enough.

If your newspapers are not taking our service, write to the editors, get your church federation and ministerial association interested. If any of your papers are using **The N.C.J.C. News Service** ask your church members to send appreciative letters to the editor. Such a newspaper is interested in religion and in the promotion of religious ideals. It is likely to be a wholesome paper for your church members to read.

Samples and rates of news and feature service sent upon request.

N.C.J.C. News Service

"The News Agency of the Religions Forces"

Operated by The National Conference of Jews and Christians

289 Fourth Ave., New York City